English Historical Review Vol. CXXX No. 547
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The 1753 'Jew Bill' Controversy: Jewish Restoration to Palestine, Biblical Prophecy, and English National Identity[*]

On 14 July 1753 *The Craftsman* ran an article purporting to be a news report from one hundred years in the future. The story was considered to be so good that it was almost immediately reprinted in the most popular journal of the day, the *London Evening Post*.[1] The piece imagined a dystopian vision in which England had been taken over by Jews. The country was renamed 'Judea Nova', and the (formerly British) government concerned itself with fighting criminals such as the pork smuggler George Briton, shooting highlanders given to the 'superstition of the *Galileans*', and banning *The Merchant of Venice*.[2] Unsurprisingly, this bizarre synthesis of political satire and anti-Semitic tropes has fascinated writers working on Anglo-Jewish history.[3] Yet, beyond the attack on the Pelham administration and repetition of anti-Jewish hearsay, commentators have missed one of the most interesting aspects of the piece. The report opens with news from Jerusalem concerning the collapse of the middle arch of the temple. The great cost of the repair would be met by the citizens of Great Britain, funded through a lottery for £500,000. The presumption in the report, as ridiculous as it might seem, was of a Jewish empire with a restored temple, based in Jerusalem. This point was driven home by the lead essay in the same issue of the *Post*. The Jews, the author reminded his readers, were those who expected 'a temporal messiah and deliverer,

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[*] My thanks to the anonymous reviewers, the editor, Martin Conway, and Sasha Handley for their helpful suggestions on an earlier draft of this essay. Versions of this work were presented at a conference on early modern prophecy at Goldsmiths College and at the Nazarene Theological College, and I thank the audiences for their helpful feedback. Early research for this article was made possible by a postdoctoral fellowship funded by the Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences.

[1] On the role of the *London Evening Post* in mid-eighteenth-century politics, see B. Harris, 'The *London Evening Post* and Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Politics', *English Historical Review*, cx (1995), pp. 1132–56, and G.A. Cranfield, 'The *London Evening Post*, 1727–1744', *The Historical Journal*, vi (1963), pp. 20–37.

[2] *London Evening Post* [hereafter *LEP*], no. 4003, 12–14 July 1753.

[3] For a discussion of both 'News from a Hundred Years Hence' and the 'Jew Bill' see T.M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1999), pp. 13–117; T.M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656–2000* (Berkeley, CA, 2002), pp. 41–77; F. Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660–1830* (Baltimore, MD, 1995), pp. 187–214; D.S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 239–83; T.W. Perry, *Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study of the Jewish Naturalization Act of 1753* (Cambridge, MA, 1962); J. Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York, 1996), pp. 195–224. For a fascinating recent examination of the influence of the Bill on Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*, see B. Latimer, 'Samuel Richardson and the "Jew Bill" of 1753: A New Political Context for *Sir Charles Grandison*', *Review of English Studies* lxvi (2015), pp. 520–39.

under whose victorious banner they are to fight their way to their Jerusalem again'.[4] The fictitious news report imagined what would happen if they succeeded.

'News from a Hundred Years Hence' and other similar productions were just one part of the controversy that raged over the Jewish Naturalization Act of 1753, commonly (and inaccurately) described as the 'Jew Bill' by contemporaries.[5] The fact that the Bill—a relatively minor measure—caused one of the most sustained political clamours of the 1750s, and an uncharacteristic burst of explicit English anti-Semitism, has led to wide scholarly attention. Centring on the question of what it meant to be English, the debates surrounding the Bill illuminate important questions of identity, religious tolerance and anti-Semitism. Yet, while work on the Bill has explicated its political, social, and anti-Semitic elements, the important role that prophecy played has been largely ignored. This oversight is important for two reasons. Firstly, ignoring the role that prophecy played in the debate has led scholars to fail to note the continuing importance of eschatology in eighteenth-century religious discussion, and thus to overlook the theological issues that the Bill generated for contemporaries. How, asked ministers and pamphlet writers, were the prophecies concerning the Jews to be understood in the context of attempts to naturalise them? Secondly, the failure to examine prophecy has caused one of the most important influences on English thinking on Judaism to be overlooked: the idea of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. The debate on the 'Jew Bill' was conducted against a background narrative of prophecy, which looked for this restoration as a key prophetic event. Such 'Restorationism' was a common theme in English eschatology from the sixteenth century onwards.[6] While it has often been seen as connected particularly to the controversies of the Civil War and Protectorate, the idea of Jewish restoration continued to be popular in England during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In Richard Cogley's term, such readings of biblical prophecy can be described as 'Judeo-Centric', as they focused heavily on the key role that the Jewish people would play in the end times. In particular, Jewish armies would overturn the Ottoman Empire and liberate the Holy Land, either before or after a mass Jewish conversion to Christianity. Such Restorationist hopes could be driven by contemporary events, such as Sabbatai Sevi's

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[4] *LEP*, no. 4003, 12–14 July 1753.

[5] The name has stuck and is used in most of the secondary literature on the subject. The name is distasteful in its derogatory use of 'Jew', as well as misusing the term 'Bill'. A Bill refers to a measure still under discussion and not yet on the statute book. When the Bill was passed into law, it became an Act of Parliament, although contemporaries continued to refer to the 'Jews'/Jew Bill'. I follow them in describing the Act as a Bill here for the sake of consistency.

[6] R. Cogley, 'The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Restoration of Israel in the "Judeo-Centric" Strand of Puritan Millenarianism', *Church History*, lxxii (2003), pp. 304–32; A. Crome, '"The Proper and Naturall Meaning of the Prophets": The Hermeneutic Roots of Judeo-centrism in Puritan Eschatology', *Renaissance Studies,* xxiv (2010), pp. 725–41.

messianic claims in the mid-1660s, or the defeat of the Ottomans at Vienna in 1683, but did not depend upon them. They presumed a highly militarised and politically charged restoration in which the Jews (with God's help) overthrew those who had oppressed them. Indeed, many proponents of such Judeo-centric eschatology presumed the eventual supremacy of Jews over Gentiles, as God would restore the full land claims promised to his people in the Old Testament. As the Jews would eventually be honoured above other populations, many Judeo-centrists believed that nations would be judged on the basis of how well (or badly) they had treated the Jewish people.[7]

These prophecies provided a background that unnerved opponents of the Bill and reminded its supporters that the English would be judged on the basis of their relationship to the Jewish nation. The suggestion that England might one day take orders from Jerusalem was not limited to satire, but was a serious consideration on both sides of the debate. This article examines the way in which these prophetic ideas were used in the literature surrounding the Jew Bill, arguing that a better understanding of them enables a more in-depth and nuanced discussion of Christian views of Jews in eighteenth-century England. In turn, these debates on Jews, coloured by prophecy, played an important role in the definition of national identity for both supporters and opponents of the Bill. This argument is addressed in three sections. The first provides background to the controversy and argues for the centrality of issues of religion in debates on the Bill. The second and third both address the question of the restoration of the Jews and of national identity in the political controversy surrounding the Bill—as both opponents and supporters argued that Jewish restoration to Palestine was key for understanding the broader political issues raised by the legislation.

I

Naturalisation represented more than a change of citizenship. Instead, it recognised the naturalised individual as a native-born subject of the British monarch, and allowed that individual to enjoy the benefits befitting that status. An un-naturalised immigrant in England faced a number of legal disabilities, including being unable to have an heir or own land, being barred from owning ships (and thus the colonial trade), and paying 'alien duties' on all imports, usually at around double the standard tax rate.[8] For those immigrants who wanted to change their status, two options were open. Denization, granted by the Crown,

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[7] W. Johnston, *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2011); N.I. Matar, 'The Controversy over the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1701–1753', *Durham University Journal*, lxxx (1988), pp. 241–56.

[8] D. Statt, 'The City of London and the Controversy over Immigration, 1660–1722', *The Historical Journal*, xxxiii (1990), pp. 45–61.

removed some of the disabilities that lay upon immigrants, but kept the alien duties in place. The second option was full naturalisation, which required (an expensive) private act of parliament.[9] Jews faced a further problem. According to a statute of 1609, naturalisation required taking communion in the Church of England. In this context, the sacramental test was seen as a guarantee that the immigrant was serious about claiming a full English identity, including membership of the national church. It therefore aimed to keep not only Catholics, but also undesirable foreign Protestants out of the country.[10]

For many within the English Jewish community, naturalisation was of little or no practical concern. All Jews born within Britain were considered to be natural-born citizens, regardless of their religion. While Jews born in the country were still barred from voting, taking degrees at the universities and serving in government positions, these disabilities were shared by all non-Anglicans.[11] Yet for those who had been born abroad, or who had entered England as merchants, naturalisation offered obvious financial and legal benefits. The English Jewish community had itself undergone a transformation over the course of the eighteenth century. By the 1750s the Sephardi community in London was noted for its prosperity.[12] While many had made their money through trade, the Sephardi were associated in the popular imagination with brokering, stock-jobbing and the organisation of lotteries—all activities that were commonly seen as being of dubious moral status, despite their value to the government.[13] In general, wealthy Sephardim were indistinguishable from other members of the English upper classes: they wore fashionable clothes, owned country mansions and married into the higher echelons of English society.

However, by 1753 the Sephardi community had been outstripped numerically by the large numbers of Ashkenazi Jews who had emigrated from Germany and Poland from the early 1700s onwards. Generally arriving with little or no knowledge of English, the Ashkenazi immigrants

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[9] Statt reports that denization cost around £25, naturalisation around £65.

[10] Statt, 'City of London', pp. 46–7. It is important to note that supporters of naturalisation were aware that the majority of immigrants from Europe, while Protestant, would not be Anglican. A 1709 Whig act had allowed immigrants to be naturalised cheaply and to confirm their Protestantism by taking the sacrament in any Protestant church. Around 10,000 immigrants, mostly from the Palatinate, took advantage of the measure before a Tory government repealed it in 1711. The Jew Bill must therefore be seen against the background of a longer debate on the economic advantages (or disadvantages) associated with immigration.

[11] A point made by Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 40–43.

[12] The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London petitioned Charles II to expel the Jews in 1664. In 1673, when indicted for 'riotous assembly' for conducting worship, Charles ordered charges to be dropped against Jews. An initiative to charge thirty-seven Jewish merchants under recusancy laws in 1685 was again overturned by the Crown. See Katz, *Jews in the History of England*, pp. 107–45, and Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 17–22.

[13] Endelman, *Jews of Britain*, pp. 41–77; Perry, *Public Opinion*, pp. 11–12. Prominent members of the Sephardi congregation, such as Samson Gideon and Joseph Salvador, were important government financiers and, along with other Jewish investors, had helped to prevent a bank run in London during the Jacobite rising of 1745.

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continued to wear traditional dress and generally took up low-paid occupations, such as peddling, collecting old clothes, or engaging in street vending. Financial hardship was commonplace. The challenge of poor relief was a significant strain upon the centre of Ashkenazi religious life, Duke's Place synagogue, while their relations with the Sephardi were often marked by snobbery and disdain on the part of their wealthier co-religionists.[14] For the majority of poor Ashkenazi immigrants, naturalisation was thus of little concern. In the eyes of the English public, however, distinctions within the Jewish community meant little. Caricatures of figures such as the financier Samson Gideon dressed in fashionable clothing, but speaking in the broken English of a recently arrived Ashkenazi immigrant, were commonplace, despite his having been born and brought up in England.[15] When the debates over the Jewish Naturalization Act began, there was seldom much awareness of the fact that the Jewish community was diverse and combined a number of different traditions.

The Naturalization Act should have been uncontroversial. It built upon the 1740 Plantation Act which allowed Jews to be naturalised if they had resided for seven years in the American colonies. In January 1753 Joseph Salvador had written to the Duke of Newcastle—one third of the Ministry's ruling 'triumvirate'—to request that Jews be allowed to apply for private acts of naturalisation by substituting the oaths of supremacy and allegiance for taking the sacrament.[16] The Prime Minister Henry Pelham (Newcastle's brother) and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, the other key members of the Ministry, raised no objections. Lord Halifax introduced a bill to allow for this proposal in the House of Lords on 3 April 1753. It progressed without encountering major difficulties and, while debates in the Commons were heated, it provoked little controversy outside parliament prior to its second reading in mid-May, having passed its first reading by a margin of 95 to 16. Opposition to the Bill began to become more widespread around the time of the second reading on 15 May. Prior to its final reading on 22 May, a number of petitions circulated among merchants. One, from Portuguese merchants, claimed that the measure would destroy their trade by angering the Spanish and Portuguese who were notorious for their hatred of Jews. Two petitions in favour of the Bill, of government origin, were also presented to the Commons before the debate. A final petition resulted from a hurried meeting of the Aldermen and Common Council in London, and claimed that the Bill would have devastating economic, political and religious effects. Signed by the Lord Mayor

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[14] Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 166–91.

[15] See for example 'The Grand Conference or the Jew Predominant' (Oct. 1753), reprinted in Perry, *Public Opinion,* pp. 4–5.

[16] The letter, dated 14 Jan. 1753, is found in British Library [hereafter BL], Add. MS 33053. A reprint is available in E. Samuel, 'The Jews in English Foreign Trade in 1753', in id., ed., *At the End of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews in England and Portugal* (London, 2004), pp. 367–8.

and approved by the Common Council, it was seen as an affront to the dignity of parliament—not only by insulting the bishops who had passed the measure in the Lords, but by raising such serious objections to policy so late in the Bill's process. Despite increased opposition in the Commons, the Bill was sent for royal assent on 22 May 1753.[17]

The very limited nature of the measure needs to be emphasised. This was not a proposal for general naturalisation. An individual who wished to be naturalised was still required to obtain a private act of parliament at considerable expense. Nor was there thorough-going Jewish support for the Bill. Gideon, who had predicted the unwelcome attention that legislation would bring, resigned his membership at the Bevis Marks synagogue in protest at its leadership's implication that he supported the measure.[18] Nonetheless, both of these points were lost in the growing clamour that continued throughout the summer of 1753. A concerted campaign against the Bill in the anti-ministerial *London Evening Post*, a paper which provided much popular material for the regional press, led to widespread publicity for the measure.[19] Critics imagined the government to be in league with a Jewish lobby (led, ironically, by Gideon) that planned to naturalise all Jews resident in Britain and encourage mass Jewish immigration. The continued criticism, combined with the prospect of a General Election in 1754, resulted in the Ministry moving to end the controversy. The 'Jew Bill' was never part of government policy, and despite the confidence of some that 'no British parliament whatever … will ever cancel so laudable, and advantageous an institution as is the Jew Act',[20] it was repealed on 28 November 1753.[21] No Jews had made use of its provisions.

The question of how to interpret this bizarre episode in Anglo-Jewish history has consistently puzzled historians. Thomas Perry proposed that the debate should be viewed through a political lens as an example of the still-strong divisions between Whig and Tory ideology that had been seen, according to a Namierite interpretation of the period, to have faded into insignificance by the 1750s. To a large extent the debate was not about Jews at all, but about using a convenient stick to beat the government. Claims of religious concern were therefore

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[17] Perry provides a detailed breakdown of the debate over the Bill and the parliamentary reaction: *Public Opinion*, pp. 45–72.

[18] The *London Evening Post* noted at the very start of the controversy that 'Some of the *wisest* amongst the *disciples of Moses* disapprove the *scheme* so warmly pushed by their *less prudent* brethren, as they perceive it will *expose* them to much *Odium*': *LEP*, no. 3979, 17–19 May 1753. Thomas Birch told Philip Yorke in September that Gideon's resignation was the "talk of some mirth" in London: BL, Add. MS 35398, fo. 158r, Birch to Yorke, 15 Sept. 1753.

[19] G.A. Cranfield, 'The *London Evening Post* and the Jew Bill of 1753', *The Historical Journal*, viii (1965), pp. 16–30.

[20] *The Unprejudiced Christian's Apology for the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 84.

[21] This was the date of the Commons' approval of the Bill for repeal. The Bill was proposed by Newcastle on 15 November, and passed by the Lords on 22 November. The Commons received the Bill on 23 November, and it received its third reading on the 28th. Royal assent was given on 20 December.

a mask for political intent.[22] Yet, while the political background was undoubtedly important, emphasising it risks marginalising the very real religious concerns that did emerge. As critics of Perry have noted, while religion could serve as a front for political attacks, many of the attacks or defences of the Bill that were based on Christian motives were entirely sincere.[23] The number of pamphlets arguing about biblical history should be seen as an important sign of this. Placing too great an emphasis on the political aspect of the debate also risks dismissing the expressions of genuine anti-Semitism voiced in discussions over the Bill as no more than opportunist rhetoric.[24] Anti-Semitic attitudes were certainly present in England, although these do not appear to have resulted in outbreaks of violence against Jews.[25] While this should not lead us to minimise the significance of anti-Semitism in England, it does illustrate that the bellicose rhetoric of the debate was not designed to promote pogroms. As Todd Endelman has noted, even in the light of the Jew Bill controversy, England remained a nation in which Jews were comparatively untroubled compared to their European co-religionists.[26]

While it is vital to recognise the importance of both political concerns and English anti-Semitism in order to understand the debate on Jewish naturalisation, the centrality of religion and national identity should also be recognised as key areas in the discussion. My analysis here is a development of the positions recently adopted by James Shapiro, Dana Rabin and Michael Ragussis, all of whom see the debate on the Bill as an attempt to redefine English religious and national identity at a time of crisis. All three of these scholars have emphasised the way in which Jewish otherness worked as a marker by which English identity could be formed. Shapiro has seen the debate as revolving around the 'Jewish

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[22] Perry, *Public Opinion*, pp. 161–99. This interpretation has recently been reiterated by D. Feldman; see 'Conceiving Difference: Religion, Race and the Jews in Britain, *c.*1750–1900', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 76 (2013), pp. 160–86. There is certainly some truth in this view; see the claims that the furore surrounding the act was an election strategy in Josiah Tucker, *A Second Letter to a Friend Concerning Naturalizations* (London, 1753), p. 3, and *The Motives to the Senseless Clamor Against the Act Concerning Jews Exposed, and the Act set in a True Light* (London, 1753), p. 7. Thomas Birch wrote to Philip Yorke on 23 June 1753 that the clamour 'is now evidently design'd to influence the Elections next year': BL Add. MS 35398, fo. 120v.

[23] J. Champion, 'Toleration and Citizenship in Enlightenment England: John Toland and the Naturalization of the Jews, 1714–1753', in O.P. Grell and R. Porter, eds., *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 133–56; Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 24–6; Harris, '*London Evening Post*', pp. 1144–8.

[24] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, pp. 187–214.

[25] The charges made against the Jews in pamphlets and newspapers were often lurid, including William Romaine's suggestion that Jews had 'a dead, livid aspect' (*A Modest Apology for the Citizens and Merchants of London* [2nd edn., London, 1753], pp. 8–9) and accounts of crucifying children (e.g. 'Archaicus', *Admonitions from Scripture and History, from Religion and Common Prudence Relating to the Jews* [London, 1753]; 'Britannia', *An Appeal to the Throne against the Naturalization of the Jewish Nation* [London, 1753]). Yet to place a disproportionate emphasis upon these reports would present an unbalanced picture of the debate as a whole. Expressions of anti-Semitic feeling in the press do not appear to have broken out into open violence against Jewish communities, although Jews were publicly insulted at Covent Garden and a Jewish peddler murdered in Wales: *LEP*, no. 4066, 1–4 Dec. 1753.

[26] Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 272–88; see also Shapiro, *Shakespeare*, p. 199.

other … trying to claim for itself a part of Englishness'.[27] As the idea of the Jew as a firmly defined other threatened to break down, so writers used the debate to explore their own fears that national identity would be undermined by infiltration. Aware of the divisions raised by the still fragile Act of Union, recent Jacobite risings, and the execution of Dr Cameron in June 1753 for his role in the Elibank Plot, those opposed to the Bill projected their fears of national instability onto the imagined Jewish threat.[28] Firm barriers between Jew and Gentile therefore had to be rebuilt, and the anti-Jewish pamphleteers attempted to do this by an extreme 'othering' of the Jewish people that was soon matched in the aftermath of the controversy by the portrayal of 'outlandish' Jews on the stage as a stereotypical paradigm of Jewishness.[29]

While this interpretation is broadly persuasive, it requires nuancing by taking the religious, and particularly the prophetic, concerns expressed in the debates more seriously. In doing so, it becomes clear that the centrality of the idea of Jewish and Gentile separation was based firmly upon scripture, and in particular on Old Testament prophecies. Opponents of the Bill worried that the government was in danger of undermining England's identity through deliberately attempting to falsify Old Testament prophecy. In their eyes, Pelham's administration was part of a wider deist plot to hasten the destruction of the Church of England: focusing on prophecies thus helped the opponents of the Bill to rebuild the essential difference between Jew and Gentile, and to prove the validity of Christianity. Their fears of Jewish military might were made possible by the continuing rhetoric of Restorationist prophecy which focused upon the power possessed by the Jewish people. The idea of the Jews as a ferocious army, motivated by desperation for land, had distinct prophetic roots and provided a powerful image to draw upon. At the same time, this discourse, focused on land and the treatment of 'natives' by a foreign power, also provided an opportunity for contemporary writers to reflect concerns and aspirations of empire.

While most scholarly work has focused on the rhetoric produced by the opponents of the Bill, the picture is both complicated and significantly expanded when we include those who wrote in favour of the measure. It is here—and not among the Bill's opponents, as Nabil Matar has claimed—that we find a strong and consistent emphasis on the idea of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine.[30] Just as with the Bill's opponents, for these writers the naturalisation of the Jews

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[27] Shapiro, *Shakespeare*, p. 207. Shapiro's work consciously builds on studies of Catholic alterity and national identity in L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (rev. edn., London and New Haven, CT, 2009); G. Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1720–1830* (New York, 1987).

[28] D. Rabin, 'The Jew Bill of 1753: Masculinity, Virility, and the Nation', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxxix (2000), pp. 157–71.

[29] M. Ragussis, *Theatrical Nation: Jews and Other Outlandish Englishmen in Georgian Britain* (Philadelphia, PA, 2010), pp. 118–38.

[30] Matar, 'Controversy over the Restoration of the Jews', pp. 249–56.

served to reinforce English national identity. Their works emphasised that Englishness had always been fluid and inclusive, but they argued that, even when incorporated within the English body politic, the Jews retained an eschatological separation which would see them return to Palestine. It was by providing the conditions that would facilitate this return that England could find its role and reconstruct its sense of national identity. Thus, by identifying Restorationism as a lens through which to view the Jew Bill controversy, it becomes possible to see the debate as more than just a passing political storm,[31] and instead to view it as part of the continuing discussion of England's role in prophecy that had generated such excitement in the seventeenth century, and would do so again in the 1790s.[32] Debates during the Jew Bill controversy over the role of prophecy were particularly conducive to discussions of national identity as they opened up a series of related questions which touched on other elements of identity construction. In particular, prophecy raised questions regarding England's role in the drama of the Apocalypse, its imperial ambition, the issue of national guilt before God, and the link between the Church of England and the nation as a whole.[33]

Historians have tended to dismiss the use of prophecy in the debate as rhetorical posturing or as a form of satire. This was undoubtedly the case with some of the work produced against the Bill: cunning rabbis representing the Ministry or reworkings of Genesis in which Jews drove 'Pelhamites' from the land were clearly not intended to be taken entirely seriously.[34] The use of such abstracted satire for political purposes, including invented 'prophecies', was an established tool of the

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[31] Cranfield describes it as 'a curious interlude in English politics … arousing tremendous passions at the time with no lasting effects whatever': '*London Evening Post* and the Jew Bill', p. 30.

[32] For the continued importance of prophecy in the later seventeenth century, see Johnston, *Revelation Restored*. For the 1790s, see C. Garrett, *Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England* (Baltimore, MD, 1975); S. Juster, *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia, PA, 2003); and D. Madden, *The Paddington Prophet: Richard Brothers's Journey to Jerusalem* (Manchester, 2010). This is not to imply that prophecy was always taken seriously, or seen as respectable. The response to the French Prophets who appeared in London in the early eighteenth century demonstrates this well; see H. Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley, CA, 1980).

[33] This should not suggest an overly simplistic picture when it comes to national identity formation. As Peter Mandler has argued, national identity is more complex and multivalent than is often recognised in approaches which focus upon its definition in terms of 'the other'; see P. Mandler, 'What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography', *Modern Intellectual History*, iii (2006), pp. 271–97. While discussions about Jews were used as one way of defining national identity in the eighteenth century, they were certainly not alone in playing that role, as questions of religious position, attitudes to Catholicism, understandings of Europe, local identity and class were all elements in forging an individual's sense of nationhood in the period. See, for example, T. Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660–1760* (Cambridge, 2007); T. Claydon and I. McBride, eds., *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650–c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998); K. Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003).

[34] *LEP*, no. 4047, 18–20 Oct. 1753; *LEP*, no. 4029, 6–8 Sept. 1753.

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press in the mid-eighteenth century;[35] as Jeremy Black has noted, the Ministry was well aware that some newspaper satires were so ridiculous that they could be safely ignored as having little impact on public opinion.[36] Yet, even bearing this in mind, the Ministry appears to have taken religious attacks on their positions seriously. Josiah Tucker, the economist and clergyman who was commissioned to write an official response to criticism, made addressing the question of prophecy and the Jew Bill one of his central concerns: 'one would think from the clamours that have been raised, that the question was, whether the temple at *Jerusalem* was to be re-established'.[37] As Stephen Taylor has noted in his discussion of attempts to set up an Anglican episcopate in America in the mid-eighteenth century, both clergy and the Ministry were fearful of a popular backlash and return to cries of the 'Church in danger' which had marked the Sacheverell controversy in Anne's reign. The government recognised that religious commitment was powerful and viewed it as prudent to avoid controversy in the area. Taylor notes that the reaction to the Jew Bill served to confirm that the Ministry had made the right strategic decisions in their policy, as it demonstrated the extent to which religious feelings still ran high.[38] Indeed, in August 1753 the Archbishop of Canterbury encountered this at first hand when, during a visit to Lewes, he found himself facing an angry crowd shouting 'No Jews!'[39] The opposition press often painted itself as the defender of religion and printed straightforward devotional material.[40] This provides a necessary context for the debates of 1753. Questions of prophecy were raised not only in the press, but in parliament; debates on Jewish restoration emerged in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *London Magazine* as well as in the *London Evening Post*. Even the satires found some of their success through their ability to draw on background knowledge of Judeo-centric prophecy.

While it would be wrong to claim that Judeo-centrism was the principal way of reading biblical prophecy, as eschatology was always a controverted category, it had remained an important element of prophetic hopes after 1660. As Warren Johnston's recent work has shown, the millenarian speculation of the 1650s did not vanish at the Restoration, but was instead employed in more politically conservative forms.[41] The idea of a mass Jewish conversion to Christianity was commonly held, and the concept of a restoration to Palestine was reiterated regularly by authors from a variety of traditions. The idea features prominently in the works of Isaac Newton and William

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[35] J. Black, *The English Press, 1621–1861* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 30–36.

[36] J. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1987), pp. 117–18.

[37] Josiah Tucker, *A Letter to a Friend Concerning Naturalizations* (London, 1753), p. 15.

[38] S. Taylor, 'Whigs, Bishops and America: The Politics of Church Reform in mid-Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, xxxvi (1993), pp. 331–56.

[39] BL, Add MS 35398, fo. 145r–v, Thomas Birch to Philip Yorke, 11 Aug. 1753.

[40] Black, *English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 248–57.

[41] Johnston, *Revelation Restored*.

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Whiston,[42] was affirmed in John Locke's *Paraphrase … on … Romans,*[43] and can be found in Thomas Burnet's posthumously published treatise on Jewish restoration.[44] A focus on these prophecies was also a useful corrective to deist ideas. Charles Leslie's 1689 *Short and Easie Method with the Jewes*, frequently reprinted up until the 1750s, repeatedly reminded potential Jewish readers of the literal fulfilment of prophecies of their judgement and their consequent separation from all other nations. The prospect of such a fulfilment served as a rejoinder to claims that the prophecies were invented *ex eventu*, and instead focused on the time to come: 'And [the Jewish nation] may be more *glorious* than all this that I have said. Even all that *temporal grandeur* and *empire* which you expect'.[45] In 1726 William Lowth, prebendary of Winchester and chaplain to its bishop, felt secure enough to claim, in a book dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that Old Testament prophecy should be understood as referring to 'the happy state of the *millennium*, which may be supposed to begin after the Jews are restored to their country'.[46] In 1730, the Church of Scotland historian Robert Millar published a *History of the Church* containing an appendix designed to convert the Jews. The book, dedicated to George II and attracting several hundred subscribers including the Duke of Buckingham, casually commented that the Ottoman Empire would have to be overthrown prior to Jewish conversion to Christianity, as: 'having the Land of Israel in his possessions, we may be sure that [the Jews] shall never peaceably enjoy the inheritance of their fathers again, as long as he hath Power to hinder it'.[47] It is noteworthy that such Judeo-centric ideas could be held within any of the millenarian positions that were a feature of eschatological debates during the early eighteenth century. Daniel Whitby, who popularised the notion that Christ would return after the millennium, explicitly argued for Jewish restoration—his point of dispute with premillennialists (who argued that Christ would return to inaugurate a millennial period) being whether or not the Jerusalem temple would be restored.[48] Meanwhile other millennial writers, such as the Baptist John Gill in his own *Exposition* of the Bible (1746–66),

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[42] For example: Isaac Newton, *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St John* (London, 1733); William Whiston, *The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (London, 1724). For more on this, see A. Shear, 'William Whiston's Judeo-Christianity: Millenarianism and Christian Zionism in Early Enlightenment England', in J. Karp and A. Sutcliffe, eds., *Philosemitism in History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 93–110.

[43] John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans* (London, 1707), p. 111.

[44] Thomas Burnet, *Appendix to the Ninth Chapter of the State of the Dead* (London, 1729).

[45] Charles Leslie, *A Short and Easie Method with the Jews* (8th edn., London, 1737), p. 136.

[46] William Lowth, *A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets* (London, 1726), p. 363.

[47] Robert Millar, 'Discourse to Promote the Conversion of the Jews', in his *The History of the Church under the Old Testament* (Edinburgh, 1730), p. 6.

[48] Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (4th edn., 2 vols., London, 1718), ii. 147–59 and 'A Treatise of the True Millennium' in *Paraphrase*, ii. 1–10.

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argued for the importance of Jewish restoration combined with the premillennial return of Christ.[49]

New works on this subject continued to appear in the years leading up to 1753. Robert Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, published his *Dissertation on Prophecy* in 1749, in which he concluded that the Jews would be restored concurrently with the destruction of popery and that Jerusalem was promised 'an exaltation higher than all other nations'.[50] Also published in 1749, David Hartley's *Observations on Man* sketched out a more controversial scenario. Hartley linked the restoration of the Jews with what he argued would be the inevitable decline and destruction of both civil and ecclesiastical power. 'As the downfal of the *Jewish* State under *Titus* was the occasion of the publication of the gospel to us Gentiles,' he suggested, 'so our downfal may contribute to the Restoration of the *Jews*, and both together bring on the final publication and prevalence of the true Religion'.[51] Having been published only four years prior to the debate over naturalisation, Hartley's work linked the idea of Jewish restoration with a belief in the inevitable destruction of the political *status quo*.

While these works do not suggest that Judeo-centrism was the normative mode of prophetic speculation, they nonetheless demonstrate that ideas of Jewish restoration were current in the period. While the debates of 1753 represent a flaring-up of interest in prophetic matters because of their political currency, it would therefore be wrong to regard this as an isolated moment of interest. Discussions of prophecy were taking place before, and continued after, the repeal of the Act. Editions of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January and February 1753, for example, featured letters relating to the question of the likelihood of the Beast of Revelation 16 being identified with China,[52] while correspondents to the *London Magazine* in February 1756 debated the possibility of recent earthquakes being linked to the Apocalypse.[53] As Jeremy Gregory has recently argued, the eighteenth century was as much an 'age of faiths' as an 'age of reason',[54] and an awareness of the important role that religion continued to play in the period should open us to the possibility that, for some at least, apocalyptic speculation continued to be legitimate. This awareness is a necessary part of taking the 'lived religion' of the eighteenth century seriously.[55]

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[49] On Gill and premillennialism, see C. Gribben, *Evangelical Millennialism in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500–2000* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 51–70.

[50] Robert Clayton, *A Dissertation on Prophecy* (Dublin, 1749), pp. 72–3.

[51] David Hartley, *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations* (2 vols., London, 1749), ii. 375. For the downfall of the civic powers, see ii. 366–72.

[52] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan. 1753, p. 90, and Feb. 1753, pp. 116–19.

[53] *London Magazine*, Feb. 1756, pp. 67–8.

[54] J. Gregory, 'Transforming the "Age of Reason" into "An Age of Faiths": or, Putting Religions and Beliefs (back) into the Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, xxxii (2009), pp. 287–305.

[55] See J. Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2006), pp. 1–20; P. Mack, 'The Unbounded Self: Dreaming and Identity in the British Enlightenment', in A.M. Plane and L. Tuttle, eds., *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, PA, 2013), pp. 207–25.

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II

The claim that the religious concerns voiced by the Bill’s opponents were merely political posturing under another name proved offensive to those who saw themselves as defending the Church of England. ‘It is alleged’, wrote one frustrated pamphleteer, ‘that all this ferment has been excited with no other view, than only with the hopes of misleading the people, and making a party at the next general election; yet I am inclined to think that upon a serious and unprejudiced view of the consequences, which are likely to attend it, they will become of a different opinion’.[56] This ‘different opinion’ was systematically laid out by a variety of writers and consisted of three main aspects. The first considered that naturalisation would constitute a denial of the prophecies that the Jews were cursed to be a wandering nation for their sin in crucifying Christ. The second, which bears an obvious relation to the first, feared that by naturalising the Jews, England would also be claiming a share in God’s curses against the Jewish nation. The third expressed a fear of the Jewish people, who might attempt to claim England as their own country or use it as a launch-pad for reclaiming Palestine.

Combined with general attacks on the Jews as dangerous foreigners who practised an alien faith, the fear that the Pelham administration was attempting to act against God’s will was a primary concern. The Jews were ‘appointed by GOD to be scattered over the face of the whole earth, ‘till they would believe in CHRIST, and take him as their King and Saviour, which they and the *Turks* will surely do, before the end of time’.[57] As that time had not yet come, however, the government was putting profit ahead of prophecy by ignoring these clear prohibitions against allowing the Jews to become a gathered nation. ‘The arguments from the several prophecies relating to the dispersion of the *Jews*, to their becoming a by-word and reproach among all nations (which are to this day literally fulfilled)’ noted George Coningesby, ‘are all of too great moment to be lightly passed off with an irreligious sneer’.[58] The measure, stormed another writer, ‘must needs be looked upon as an impious endeavour to thwart the divine decree, against [God’s] deservedly rejected people: Nay, I know not whether such an attempt to impede God’s wrath, may not properly be termed open *rebellion* against him’.[59] Samuel Eccles was even more outraged at the prospect. ‘But alas! What are we in this nation now about?’ he asked his hearers in a sermon

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[56] *A Candid and Impartial Examination of the Act Passed Last Session of Parliament for Permitting the Foreign JEWS to be Naturalized* (London, 1753), p. 10. See also J.E., *Some Considerations on the Naturalization of the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 21.

[57] J.E., *Seasonable Remarks on the Act Lately Pass’d in Favour of the Jews; Containing Divers Weighty Reasons for a Review of the Said Act* (London, 1753), p. 14.

[58] George Coningesby, *The Jewish Naturalization Considered, with Respect to the Voice of the People* (London, 1753), p. 21.

[59] *A Candid and Impartial Examination*, p. 11.

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in July 1753. The government had acted in 'express contradiction to God's word, spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets, to admit these men, still denying, nay blaspheming the name of Christ, citizens of our *Jerusalem*; to *naturalize* and *incorporate* with men who *bear witness and allow the deeds of their fathers*!' He concluded with a further question for his audience: 'Is Christianity clean gone, and in *England* is it no more to be found?'[60]

The particular prophecies that were apparently being violated by the government were those contained in Deuteronomy 28, which predicted a series of curses, including exile, for disobedience to God, and Christ's prophecy of Jerusalem's destruction, which was regarded as having permanently ended the Jewish polity. These biblical injunctions were mixed with the legend of the wandering Jew, a figure supposed to have cursed Christ on his way to Calvary and to have been condemned to wander the earth without rest ever since.[61] In theological terms, the Jews' continued existence as a separate people could be interpreted in two ways—either as implying a future restoration, or as suggesting that they had been kept separate as a witness to their sin. Opponents of the Bill usually favoured the second option. To naturalise them therefore appeared to break down the barrier which had been previously been presumed between Jew and Gentile, by presenting the possibility that Jews could freely intermingle with the English. If this was to occur, the witness of their punishment would be lost. 'May we not reasonably conclude from what we see', asked one opponent, 'that it is the will of providence, they should be preserved as a distinct people, never to be incorporated with other nations, whilst they continue in the same faith?'[62] To naturalise the Jews was to help confirm them in their unbelief, a point picked up by several authors, not least in the popular press. 'By the Christian Revelation the Jews were to be a dispers'd and scatter'd people. They by theirs expect a Restoration: We are going by this Bill to collect them together, and thereby, as far as in us lies, to falsify our own Prophets and verify the predictions of theirs' grumbled 'Britannicus' in the *London Evening Post*.[63] Arthur Murphy's interlude *The Temple of Laverna*, originally written in 1752 and republished the following year, imagined that Jews would view the granting of naturalisation as proof that Christianity was not divinely revealed: 'Shall we have a fixed place of residence at last!' exclaimed a broker, 'Have we baffled the prophecies of the *Galileans*?'[64] One ballad writer wondered how the process of naturalisation could be reconciled with God's plan: 'Are these then the people that mark'd with

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[60] Samuel Eccles, *The Candid Determination of the Jews in Preferring a Thief and a Robber before our Saviour: A Sermon preached June 10, 1753* (London, 1753), p. 14.

[61] Felsenstein. *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, pp. 55–89.

[62] [Jonas Hanway], *A Review of the Proposed Naturalization of the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 28.

[63] *LEP*, no. 3980, 19–21 May 1753.

[64] Andrew Murphy, 'The Temple of Laverna', in *A Collection of the Best Pieces in Prose and Verse Against the Naturalization of the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 19.

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the brands/ That the C—G–Y have preach'd shall inherit no land/ Which now they gain'd against God's command'.[65] These fears were not limited to the press. Indeed, they had been raised in the original parliamentary debates on the Bill. Sir Edward Isham noted that by the Bill: 'we are giving lie to all the prophecies in the New Testament, and endeavouring, as far as we can, to invalidate one of the strongest proofs of the Christian religion'.[66] One writer to the *Gentleman's Magazine* was so concerned that Jewish prophecy was undermining Christian belief that he suggested a project for removing 'Jewish' phrases from the Psalms: 'that while we are opposing the favour that seems intended for them, we may not be praying for their establishment and prosperity in the very words which they themselves use'.[67]

These concerns about the validity of the prophecies, as Nabil Matar has noted, were often linked with the fear that deists were seeking to undermine the rational basis of Christian faith by deliberately attempting to prove the prophecies false.[68] If Jews could be naturalised, feared some of the Bill's opponents, then the curses against the Jews in the Old Testament would have been shown to be inaccurate, and the Bible would have been revealed to be of dubious reliability. Through naturalisation, argued one of the *London Evening Post*'s letter-writers, 'we labour, as much as in us lies, to defeat the prophecies in the New Testament, which is destroying the very essentials of our religion, and may subject us to the wrath of God'.[69] 'Judaism and Deism lift up high their proud and unbelieving heads, whilst humble Christianity lies under a cloud', bemoaned 'Britannicus' in early August.[70] The ballad 'The Jews' Triumph' made the link explicit: 'But 'tis hop'd that a mark will be set upon those/ Who were friends to the Jews, and Christians' foes/ That the nation may see how Deism grows'.[71] Significantly, this was the stanza used to advertise the work in the *London Evening Post*.[72] According to one correspondent, the Jew Bill therefore served as a good way of revealing its supporters as dangerous to the Church: '*Believers* will take care to mark them out as *Freethinkers, Latitudinarians,* and Deists'.[73] Another writer to the paper felt that such attempts to violate the prophecies were doomed to fail: 'The wretches who are trying to falsify the prophecies, are, in truth, fulfilling them; for the *Jews* are

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65. 'C—G—Y' is used to disguise 'clergy'. 'The Jews Triumph, a Ballad' in *The Tom-Tit; or, Something to Please Everybody* (London, 1753), p. 4.

66. *The Parliamentary History of England, From the Earliest Period to the Year 1803* (36 vols., London, 1806–20), xiv. 1381. This speech was reprinted in the June 1753 edition of the *London Magazine*, pp. 265–6.

67. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1753, pp. 428–9.

68. Matar, 'Controversy over the Restoration of the Jews', p. 241.

69. *LEP*, no. 4012, 2–4 Aug. 1753.

70. *LEP*, no. 4013, 4–6 Aug. 1753.

71. 'The Jews Triumph', p. 4.

72. *LEP*, no. 3991, 14–16 June 1753.

73. *LEP*, no. 4071, 13–15 Dec. 1753.

every day becoming more and more an execration, and would think none but such as are wilfully blind could help seeing it'.[74]

Writers with these concerns had a ready model for those who deliberately tried to disprove prophecy: the Roman Emperor Julian the 'apostate', who in 365 CE had tried to rebuild the Jerusalem temple and reinstitute ceremonial worship in direct contradiction of the New Testament. As Julian's temple had supposedly been destroyed by fire from heaven and an earthquake, his project served as an ominous warning to those who denied prophecy. A petition from the Sheriff and Aldermen of Wiltshire to their parliamentary representatives in August thus asked 'May we not with reason, apprehend that we shall draw upon ourselves the resentment of almighty God for our endeavours to establish the body politic of the *Jews* in the same manner as *Julian* the Apostate?'[75] Through their actions, the government was imitating 'the impiety of the Apostate *Julian*, by endeavouring, like him, to falsify the Word of God'.[76] Supporters of the Bill were baffled by the comparison. 'Let me ask any serious sober person', one author wrote, 'is there the least *similitude* between the legislature's passing this bill in favour of the Jews, and *Julian's* declaration … in open defiance of Christ, in order to prove him to have been a false prophet and an imposter?'[77] For political reasons, it was certainly useful to paint Pelham as a second Julian, working as part of a deist conspiracy to undermine the Church of England. Yet there is no reason to think that some of the concern at least was not genuine, connecting as it did with High Church suspicion of Whig 'enthusiasm' and links to deism.[78]

These concerns were not limited to the fear that prophecy was being attacked; rather, it was the threats contained within the prophecies and the worry that England could inherit Jewish guilt for crucifying Christ that emerged as a predominant theme. In many ways this was a reversal of the logic that had been so prevalent at the Whitehall Conference a hundred years earlier, during which it was hoped that England would acquire blessings from her interactions with the Jews.[79] As with many aspects of the anti-/philo-Semitic binary and national identity formation, this controversy allowed writers to form an external measure by which they could gauge whether the nation was living up to her 'chosen' role. Whereas some supporters of the Bill accepted Jews as eternally blessed, and saw Anglo-Jewish relations in that light, their opponents used the

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[74] *LEP*, no. 4027, 1–4 Sept. 1753.

[75] *LEP*, no. 4014, 7–9 Aug. 1753; See also *Collection of the Best Pieces*, p. 80, and a petition from the electors of Chichester against the Bill, *LEP*, no. 4043, 9–11 Oct. 1753.

[76] *LEP*, no. 4008, 24–6 July 1753.

[77] *A True State of the Case Concerning the Good or Evil which the Bill for the Naturalization of the Jews May Bring upon Great Britain* (London, 1753), p. 11.

[78] A concern that Harris notes was characteristic of the *London Evening Post*: '*London Evening Post*', pp. 1153–6.

[79] See A. Crome, 'English National Identity and the Readmission of the Jews, 1650–1656', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, lxvi (2015), pp. 280–301.

same logic to argue that the Jewish people were forever cursed. The question that should be asked of those who supported the Bill was clear: 'Can any *Christian* state receive such a nation as this into its bosom now, without subjecting itself and all its dependents, to the wrath and curses which God has so solemnly denounced against them, and which has for so many ages pursued and accompanied them in all places?'[80] Again, this concern was present during the Commons debates on the issue. 'There is a curse attends the nation in general', argued Sir John Barnard, 'and I wish, that by bringing them here, we may not bring along with them the curse that pursued them through all countries, and for so many ages'.[81] 'All fellowship and inter-community of *Christians* with *Jews*, in rights civil and religious (which cannot but be often intermix'd among people naturaliz'd together)', noted 'Archaicus', 'must make *those* partakers in sin and guilt with *these*, and involve them in their judgement and plague'.[82] By 'associating or uniting with sinners … must they be undoubtedly pronounced partakers of the same who incorporate and associate with them', argued Eccles,[83] while Coningesby feared 'a monstrous connection' that would make England 'involved in their guilt'.[84] 'Would it be of any public benefit to import the wealth of the whole *Indies*, if there should come a curse along with it?' asked William Romaine. 'And if there be a God', he concluded ominously, 'a curse there will come with the *Jews* money'.[85] The *London Evening Post* regularly published letters expressing this fear. Correspondents asked rhetorically whether '[they who] think of being united in a Civil Community with the Jews, have not great reason to be afraid that they shall be united with them in all their plagues and curses?'[86] Another queried, 'May we not expect to be involved in the same curse which God has inflicted on them, and be a reproach to all nations forever?',[87] while a third commented 'May we not, by such an unnatural union, reasonably expect to be incorporated into their curses, and that it will call down upon this nation the just vengeance of the almighty?'[88]

Many of these writers went on to describe the nature of the curses that would fall upon England as a result of the naturalisation of the Jews. While their predictions often seem to veer towards the absurd, when read in the context of Judeo-centric eschatology these visions of England's fate begin to become much more coherent. It is important

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[80] 'Britannia', *Appeal to the Throne*, p. 14.

[81] *Parliamentary History*, xiv. 1395.

[82] 'Archaicus', *Admonitions*, p. 21.

[83] Samuel Eccles, *Religion the Truest Loyalty, Protestantism no Fanaticism or Judaism* (London, 1753), p. 18.

[84] Coningesby, *Jewish Naturalization*, p. 5.

[85] [William Romaine], *An Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled, Considerations on the Bill to Permit Persons Professing the Jewish Religion to be Naturalized* (London, 1753), p. 56.

[86] *LEP*, no. 3986, 2–5 June 1753. Both Eccles and Romaine were accused of being anonymous writers for the *LEP*: Harris, '*London Evening Post*', pp. 1136–8.

[87] *LEP*, no. 3991, 14–16 June 1753.

[88] *LEP*, no. 4024, 30 Aug.–1 Sept. 1753.

to note, as Jane Shaw has argued, that the wondrous continued to hold a fascination in mid-eighteenth-century England. Her work on Mary Toft, famous for supposedly giving birth to rabbits in 1716, has shown the persistence of the story into the 1750s, including her being cited by William Whiston as a sign of the forthcoming restoration of Jews in a 1750 lecture. In 1753 the story of Elizabeth Canning, who had supposedly survived for a month on a single jug of water and half a loaf of bread after being kidnapped by gypsies, had captivated newspaper and magazine readers as a possible supernatural wonder.[89] Of course, as E.J. Clery has pointed out, the popularity of cases of this kind might be indicative of a shift towards viewing the supernatural merely as a titillating spectacle, an experience broadly analogous with attending the theatre.[90] Certainly, many of the examples mentioned above attracted interest on account of their entertainment value. But this was not the case for all of those who followed them. As Shaw argues, press warnings against credulity in such cases suggest that many took them seriously.[91] Thus, while reports of the supernatural judgements that would fall on England as a result of naturalising the Jews might seem beyond the realms of possibility, in a context in which wondrous events could be accepted they became at least broadly plausible.

III

In reversing the usual Restorationist position on the blessings offered to the nation by interactions with the Jews, the Bill's opponents used the underlying Restorationist narrative of Jewish militarism, connection to Palestine and messianic expectation to argue against the Naturalization Act. At times they therefore employed satirical re-imaginings of Jewish restoration in their work. 'The ten tribes, when they hear of this Act, will undoubtedly discover themselves and take advantage of it', noted one cynical commentator.[92] Another believed that 'all Bishops, Priests and persons in Holy orders [will] say and maintain, that the Call of the *Jews* is now come, and that the Kingdom of Christ is at hand'.[93] One wit in the press suggested that 'an army may be speedily raised for the retaking *Jerusalem*, which happy event would enable our good friends and new countrymen *Israelites* to rebuild their temple'.[94] Of course, for such satire to have its intended effect these writers relied on

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[89] J. Shaw, 'Mary Toft, Religion and National Memory in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxxii (2009), pp. 321–38.

[90] E.J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762–1800* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1–32. In particular, see her examination of the Cock Lane ghost of 1762, a phenomenon which drew spectators including Samuel Johnson and the Duke of York to the site of the supposed haunting.

[91] Shaw, 'Mary Toft'.

[92] J.E., *Seasonable Remarks*, p. 12.

[93] *A Proposal Humbly Offered to the Legislature of this Kingdom for the Re-establishment of Christianity* (London, 1753), p. 12.

[94] *Collection of the Best Pieces*, p. 57.

their readers recognising the common Restorationist tropes that they mocked. The writer of *Esther's Suit to King Ahasuerus*, for example, was obviously familiar with the eschatological position when he suggested that 'this seems to prepare the way for the call of the *Jews*, which the learned say, must preceed [*sic*] the second coming of the Messiah … and if at the coming of the messiah, *London* should be fixed on by him, for his glorious reign on earth as his metropolis, will not all nations by that means be subject to *Britain*, and will not the law go forth from *Sion*?'[95] Another writer imagined that the Act would lead to a land swap: 'Thus the Kingdom of *Old Jerusalem* will be ours in *Reversion*, for this *giving them Britain in present possession*; and there can be no other obstacle to our having the whole land of Canaan for our inheritance, but the opposition of its present possessors'. Even further: 'All the old prophecies will be thus fulfilled; a *New Jerusalem*, rising like a phenix [*sic*] out of the ashes of the *Old*, *shall be establish'd in the West*, while the *Old One in the East* will become our Colony, and while both the one and the other shall cry aloud, *This is the P-rl----ts doing and it is marvellous in our eyes!*'[96]

For all of this drollery, some writers displayed a subtle grasp of Judeo-centric narratives of restoration that was able to aim directly at the origins of concerns over national identity. Perhaps the most remarkable piece in this vein was 'The Prophecy of Shylock', printed by the *London Evening Post* in late August.[97] A parody of biblical prophecies of restoration, it is notable for its attacks being entirely focused upon the English rather than the Jews:

> For it shall come to pass, that as I plucked you [the Jews] out, I will return and have compassion on you, and will bring you again, every man to his heritage, and every man to his land. I have heard your complaints with pity, and visited the afflictions of my chosen people, to bring you together again, and establish you for [*sic*] an everlasting kingdom … The land you are now to possess is fruitful and pleasant, and its inhabitants [i.e. the English] are ripe for destruction … They deck themselves with jewels, [are] wanton in the midst of their wealth: Their young men delight in gaming and drunkenness, and their women play the whore in the open streets … They were honour'd by their neighbours for their wisdom, and princes stood in awe of them for their strength. I fenced them with the walls of the depth; even by the walls of the mighty ocean … I made the mighty bow to their pavilions and covered the ocean with their fleets: Their fame went from one end of the earth to the other … I was their sure rock of defence while they walk'd in my ways; but they forsook the paths of their fathers … Therefore, thus saith the Lord: I will destroy them in my anger.[98]

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[95] *Esther's Suit to King Ahasuerus* (London, 1753), p. 16.

[96] *LEP*, no. 4008, 24–26 July 1753.

[97] For more on Shylock in the controversy, see E.H. Anderson, 'Celebrity Shylock', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* cxxvi (2011), pp. 935–49.

[98] *LEP*, no. 4022, 25–28 Aug. 1753.

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The passage is surprisingly rich in concerns relating to national identity. Not only had England betrayed its religious roots, but questions of separation from Europe ('fenced with the walls of the depth'), imperialism, and changing gender roles also emerge clearly in the imagined biblical narrative. These concerns combined with a much darker fear of Jewish militarism and of projects to reconquer the Holy Land. Restorationism had promoted an image of the Jews as superior to other nations and blessed with military power, neither of which were attributes that appeared to recommend their naturalisation as British citizens. 'The notion they suck with their milk is, that they are *a great nation* and all mankind usurpers of their sovereignty', noted J.E.; 'this consideration reconciles their pertinacious adherence to the religion of their forefathers; and invalidates their claim to mix with any other nation'.[99] The Jews, noted another, 'shortly also expect (we see) their Messias to come and restore them to the country of their ancestors; and being aliens, they would little love the country, and so do little for it'.[100] Indeed, the same author worried: 'if an artful *Rabbi* should spirit his nation up with the expectation of a future *restoration* of the *Jewish* kingdom, as history informs us has often been done, who would be able to defend the crown itself from a people, that have in all times and place, where the least success has buoy'd 'em up, left examples of this imperious and rebellious spirit?'[101] The fear that the Jews might raise a Messiah was stated repeatedly. 'As they always blindly expected a temporal messiah and deliverer, under whose victorious banner they are to fight their way to their Jerusalem again, and to flourish there in great splendour and glory', noted 'Christianus', 'so there have never been wanting artful, ambitious, or presumptuous men among them, who from time to time tak[e] advantage of their blind expectation'.[102] Romaine cited both current prophetic hope amongst Jews and false messiahs from Bar-Kochba to Sabbatai Sevi to prove his point. Repeating the spurious claim that Jews had studied Cromwell's genealogy to see if he could be the Messiah, Romaine suggested that Samson Gideon represented a likely present-day candidate.[103] The *London Evening Post* thought Henry Pelham to be more plausible.[104]

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[99] J.E., *Some Considerations*, p. 84.

[100] *An Appeal to the Throne*, p. 31.

[101] *An Appeal to the Throne*, p. 22.

[102] *LEP*, no. 4003, 12–14 July 1753.

[103] [Romaine], *An Answer*, pp. 31–4. Hardwicke, in a letter of 20 October 1753, criticised Romaine for this suggestion, describing him as guilty of 'impudence, buffoonery, virulence and insincerity'. While the legend was false, Menasseh ben Israel had suggested Cromwell as a possible candidate for messianic identity in an interview with Arise Evans; see Evans, *A Light for the Jews* (London, 1664).

[104] *LEP*, no. 4029, 6–8 Sept. 1753. See also the anecdote recorded in the previous issue: 'Friend *Nathan*, said an honest Gentleman at *Garraway*, can it be true, that your *sagacious Nation* should be *one* and *twenty* times cheated by *false Messiahs*? Can you *doubt* it, replied the testy *Hebrew*, when in spite of all this *Experience*, you see us, at this day, the *Dupe* of the *twenty-second*?': *LEP*, no. 4028, 4–6 Sept. 1753.

The unease over messianism combined with the supposed military power of the Jews to exacerbate England's imperial concerns and insecurities. Opponents of the Bill therefore repeatedly referred to a fear of the loss of land, and the reduction of Britain to the status of a colony. The Duke of Bedford, speaking in the Lords in November, argued that, should the Act remain on the statute book, 'they might then call this island their own land, and whatever respect some of the superstitious among them might retain for their prophecies, every sensible man would think they had made a happy exchange'.[105] 'Archaicus' feared that a corrupt ministry might use Jews as an alternative standing army.[106] The *Gazetteer* reported a dream in which the natural inhabitants of a land mercifully allowed 'google-eyed creatures with long whiskers' into their nation, before seeing their government, economy and lands taken over. The natives were eventually expelled 'and the new inhabitants, amid their festivity, proclaimed aloud, "*Now is our Kingdom come*"'.[107] Similar fantasies were present in 'News from a hundred years hence' and other popular pieces. A poem in the *London Evening Post* in September 1753 featured a conversation between two Jews, who imagined that Britons would be driven 'into the Sea, as their Christ did the hogs … Then hey for the Land, the blest Land of *Canaan*!'[108] A detailed parody of Genesis 34 found the Jews offering money to the 'Pelhamites' in exchange for the circumcision of all British men only for them to slay 'every Male of the Britons' whilst 'their private parts were sore'. The Jews here conspired together to claim power: 'Shall not their lands, their cattle, their substance, and every beast of theirs be ours?'[109] Thomas Birch's distaste at the short-lived *Protestor* was linked explicitly to its suggestion (based on the Jews' slaughter of their enemies in the Book of Esther) that 'it is not unreasonable for us to *fear*, That if ever This Land becomes a Land of *Goshen* to them, it will also become a Land of *Bondage* to us'.[110] The *London Evening Post* attempted to support such claims with more sober reporting. Correspondents reminded readers of the atrocities perpetrated against the Romans and Cypriots by Jews in antiquity,[111] while Matthew Hale's *Primitive Origination of Mankind* was quoted to prove that 'if all the *Jews* … were collected into one body, they would exceed in number any one of the greatest nations in the world, and yield an irresistible army'.[112] Crime reports shortly after the repeal of the Act continued to present the Jews as menacing military figures. The *London Evening Post* for 5–8 January 1754, for example,

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[105] *Parliamentary History*, xv. 105.

[106] 'Archaicus', *Admonitions*, p. 28.

[107] *Collection of the Best Pieces*, pp. 15–16.

[108] *LEP*, no. 4032, 13–15 Sept. 1753.

[109] *LEP*, no. 4047, 18–20 Oct. 1753.

[110] *The Protestor*, no. 3, 16 June 1753. For Birch's report, see BL, Add. MS 35398, fo. 118r–v, Thomas Birch to Philip Yorke, 16 June 1753.

[111] *LEP*, no. 4050, 25–27 Oct. 1753, and no. 4054, 3–6 Nov. 1753.

[112] *LEP*, no. 4056, 8–10 Nov. 1753.

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featured an article about a continental community threatened by a Lutheran trader 'imagin'd to be either a Jew or a Papist', the description of a Polish *converso* beheaded for returning to Judaism, and a report of the construction of a Jewish ghetto in Vienna.[113] As late as May 1754, a report from Bristol described the robbery of a woman by a Jew who cried 'You B---h, you thought to have turn'd us out of Bristol, but now we will do for you all!'[114]

These images of Jewish violence are striking, particularly as Felsenstein has argued that the idea of the feeble Jew was a common one until the rise of Daniel Mendoza and other Jewish pugilists in the early nineteenth century.[115] Rather, as Rabin has recognised, the image of Jews presented throughout the pamphlets was 'threatening and aggressive'.[116] In seeking a source for this image, Rabin is right to suggest a fear over the breakdown of gender roles. But, combined with the other uses of Restorationist prophecy in the debate, including its subtle reworking by those who opposed the Bill, it is suggestive both of the continued strength and importance of a Judeo-centric narrative of Restoration in forming impressions of Jews into the mid-eighteenth century, and broader concerns over empire. The idea of the Jews as an invincible military force was a powerful one, and a useful image which could be drawn upon by the press. Certainly in the context of David Hartley's 1749 *Observations*, in which he combined Jewish restoration with the destruction of the civil and ecclesiastical settlement in England, the idea of a Jewish return to Palestine could be seen as inherently threatening.

Such an image also revealed insecurities about Britain's imperial role, notably the regularly reiterated fear of being reduced to a French colony which echoed from the 1745 Jacobite rising until the end of the Seven Years War.[117] The narrative of Jewish military and trade-based colonialism deployed by the Bill's opponents thus suggested the precarious nature of Britain's ability to maintain her hold over land both at home and overseas, as well as revealing a latent acknowledgement of the violence inherent in the colonising process. It is therefore significant that the image of the Jews as violent enslavers fixated on profit tallied with the popular critique of Creole planters in the period, recently traced by Jack P. Greene.[118] The *Post*, for example, linked images of Jews to those of colonial oppressors: 'As they increase in Number,

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[113] *LEP*, no. 4081, 5–8 Jan. 1754.

[114] *LEP*, no. 4132, 9–11 May 1754.

[115] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, pp. 228–32.

[116] Rabin, 'Jew Bill', p. 160.

[117] J.P. Greene, *Evaluating Empire and Confronting Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 36–43; K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1786* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 137–205; P.J. Marshall, 'A Nation Defined by Empire, 1755–1776', reprinted as Chapter VI in *'A Free though Conquering People': Eighteenth-Century Britain and its Empire* (Aldershot, 2003).

[118] Greene, *Evaluating Empire*, pp. 20–49.

so will they increase in power; and as they increase in power, so will they increase in cruelty; 'till by Degrees, we find ourselves become the Slaves of merciless and cruel Tyrants'.[119] In a similar spirit, the allusion to British imperial endeavours in a boast by 'Shylock' that 'our brave Men of War shall scower the main/ And our Red-coats restore *Judah's* Sceptre again' was obvious.[120] In this way, the methods that Jews were accused of using to fulfil the biblical prophecies anticipated criticisms of the East India Company that would emerge in the 1760s. Both the *Gazetteer* dream and the Genesis 34 parody, mentioned earlier, included a pattern of feigned friendship shown to natives, followed by increasing numbers of colonists and tyranny, until the natives were reduced to slavery or expelled. This can be compared with Samuel Foote's 1768 play *The Nabob*, which recounted that the Company were 'admitted as friends' and had 'a beneficial commerce with the inoffensive and innocent people' until 'at length we growing too strong for the natives, we turn them out of their lands, and take possession of their money and jewels'.[121] All of this suggests that reflections on biblical prophecy contributed to wider debates on imperialism current in mid-eighteenth-century England. The presumption in Restorationist narratives of a flourishing Jewish empire invited comparison and critique of Britain's own endeavours. While the Bill's opponents denied that there could ever be any connection of Jewishness with Britishness, the Jews ironically became mirrors of Britain's imperial anxieties.[122]

Yet this use of prophecy was flexible. For many of the Bill's opponents, its danger lay in the way it appeared to contradict biblical prophecies regarding Jewish separation. Thus, in the Commons debate on the Bill on 15 May 1753, Isham noted that the Jews must be 'without fixed habitation, until they acknowledge Christ to be the messiah, and then they are to be gathered together from all corners of the earth, and to be restored to their native land'.[123] Barnard, similarly, argued that they would be homeless until 'they have acknowledged Christ to be the messiah: and when they do this, they are to be restored to their native land'.[124] However, biblical prophecy could also be used to support the Bill. In countering the arguments of those who advocated Jewish separation, Restorationist writers aimed to prove that not only was naturalisation possible, but that it was a necessary prelude to the full restoration of the Jews. This position required the standard idea of the Jews as an 'other' to undergo some modification. These writers simultaneously argued for separation and incorporation: Jews could become English, in that they could share in the benefits of being

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[119] *LEP*, no. 4063, 24–27 Nov. 1753.
[120] *LEP*, no. 4032, 13–15 Sept. 1754.
[121] Quoted in Greene, *Evaluating Empire*, p. 132.
[122] On the idea of natives as 'mirrors' of Englishness, see Wilson, *The Island Race*, pp. 54–91.
[123] *Parliamentary History*, xiv. 1381.
[124] *Parliamentary History*, xiv. 1389.

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considered British citizens and gaining English moral values. However, at the same time they would still be eschatologically separate as they awaited their future restoration to Palestine.

According to these writers, the opponents of the Bill mistook the nature of prophecies when they argued against naturalisation. 'This is not the fact', argued 'Philo-Patriae'; 'Christ's prediction was, that their temple should be destroyed and they dispersed, this is verified; but he never said they should not be received as subjects by any nation'.[125] Edward Weston, writing in the aftermath of the controversy, reminded readers that 'the punishment of the *Jews*, as a people, consists in their separation from the land of promise, in the destruction of their city, temple and civil government, as exercised in *Judaea*, whilst God permitted them to continue a nation under his own theocratical superintendency'.[126] 'Tho' the scriptures inform us, that the Jews shall be dispers'd over the face of the whole earth', stormed the preacher Peter Peckard, 'they no where say, that they shall continue in that condition for ever, but plainly assert the contrary'.[127] Josiah Tucker's official response noted that the prophecies did not exclude the Jews from any nation, and that to claim so showed a severe want of Christian charity. While 'at present under a dreadful delusion, [they] are still the *natural* branches, and when the divine providence shall think proper, will be *grafted in againe*, *i.e.* naturalized'.[128] As Tucker intimated, to claim that the Jews had been rejected completely was to ignore clear prophecies of their future blessing. As the *Gentleman's Magazine* concluded in frustration in June 1753, the claim by the Bill's opponents that prophecy was being frustrated 'will for ever stigmatize the present age of moral philosophy, in which every one boasts to detect the frauds of superstition'. This was not, however, because the prophecies were not true, but because they were being interpreted illogically: 'if the prophecies concerning the *Jews* are not fulfilled, Christianity is not true; and if Christianity is true, these prophecies cannot but be fulfilled'.[129] The Bill's opponents, its supporters argued, were guilty of overlooking God's continued interest in the Jewish people in a way that denied

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[125] 'Philo-Patriae', *Further Considerations on the Act to Permit Persons Professing the Jewish Religion to be Naturalized by Parliament* (London, 1753), p. 62. Edgar Samuel believed 'Philo-Patriae' to be a pseudonym for Joseph Salvador, although I am not convinced; see Samuel, 'The Jews in English Foreign Trade', pp. 351–4. While 'Philo-Patriae' was aware of Jewish customs and Talmudic learning, this was not unusual in the period; see D.B. Ruderman, *Judaism and the Search for Christian Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2007); nor was the fact that the *London Evening Post* claimed that 'Philo-Patriae' was Jewish—a common insult against anybody writing in favour of the Bill. See in particular the *Post*'s treatment of the Sephardi community's (Christian) lawyer, Philip Carteret Webb—'the Jew', 'the Jew lawyer', etc.: e.g. *LEP*, nos. 3997, 4004, 4014, 4122.

[126] [Edward Weston], *ΔΙΑΣΠΟΡΑ: Some Reflections upon the Questions relating to the Naturalization of the Jews* (London, 1754), p. 17.

[127] Peter Peckard, *The Popular Clamour Against the Jews Indefensible: A Sermon Preached at Huntingdon, October the 28th 1753* (Cambridge, 1753), pp. 17–18.

[128] Tucker, *Letter to a Friend*, p. 14.

[129] *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1753, p. 280.

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them any relevance other than as markers of judgement. While this was one way in which their continual separation and survival as a people could be interpreted, it was also possible to recognise that they were kept distinct for a special prophetic purpose. 'What is become of the ancient *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*', asked 'A True Believer' rhetorically; 'Do any of them survive in their successors?'[130] 'If you act consistently with the gospel, and your own doctrine of the *call*, you ought to protect the *Jews*, and prevent their ruin', noted the author of *Looking Glass for the Jews*, 'For if they are to be destroyed, how can the *call* take place? How can the kingdom of *Israel* be restored to them?'[131] Those who opposed the Bill should thus remember that 'the Almighty seems still to have a regard to the gracious promises he made to their pious ancestors, that he will not cast them off for ever, but in his own due time, will again distinguish them by his favours'.[132]

In this way, the supporters of the Bill sought to present it as being in accordance with the biblical prophecies. 'We can have no doubt, but *all* the prophesies concerning that people will have their accomplishment, in God's good time; as those concerning their dispersion, *have* been most evidently and remarkably completed', noted one correspondent in the *Norwich Mercury*. Thus 'we cannot but look with pleasure and delight at any step; which may seem to tend, how remotely so-ever, to their restitution to their own land; whether before or after their conversion to Christianity'.[133] 'To bring them back from the four winds, to the land of their Fathers,' noted Weston, 'to convert and put them again in possession of *Jerusalem*, and the holy mountain: This is the true end of the dispersion; the revocation of the decree of their national punishment, the completion of every prophecy'.[134] The use of this Restorationist language helped the proponents of the Bill, as they combatted claims that the Jews were seeking to take over the country. According to this logic, while the Jews could enjoy the benefits of naturalisation, this would serve as a prelude for their eventual departure from Britain. In the meantime, it would benefit the nation to bless them. Thus, as 'Philo-Patriae' noted, the Jews 'have no thought of having an independent state in any country, but the *Holy Land*. What possibly can ever make them desire to leave our obedience, while we let them enjoy their private liberties?'[135] 'And let not any of my countrymen be terrified with dreams of a *Jewish State* and *Sanhedrin* in our *Island* as the consequence of their conversion', another pamphleteer advised, 'see with your own eyes, and believe your Bibles. Thus saith

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[130] 'A True Believer', *An Apology for the Naturalization of the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 3.

[131] *A Looking Glass for the Jews* (London, 1753), p. vii.

[132] *An Apology for the Naturalization*, p. 4.

[133] *Some Queries Relative to the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 10. This work reprinted a series of letters from the *Norwich Mercury*.

[134] [Weston], *ΔΙΑΣΠΟΡΑ*, p. 20.

[135] 'Philo-Patriae', *Considerations on the Bill to Permit Persons Professing the Jewish religion to be Naturalized by Parliament* (London, 1753), p. 18.

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the Lord, "Behold, I will take the children of *Israel* from among the heathen whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into *their own land*"'.[136] For others, those who opposed the Bill were being selective in their use of prophecy. It was common to hear the Jews cursed on the basis of the Old Testament, complained another correspondent to the *Norwich Mercury*, 'yet although the same God hath said they shall be *restored* [the Bill's opponents] will not hear of their *restoration* with patience'.[137]

The debate over the Bill also offered an opportunity for a wider discussion of Restorationist ideas. The author of *An Explanation of Some Prophecies* used the furore provoked by the measure as justification for publishing his eschatological speculation: 'At a time when the Jews are become the subject of much conversation and much controversy in this Kingdom, it cannot be improper to enquire, as strictly as we can, after the very time of their conversion and restoration to the promised land'.[138] This restoration was, claimed Weston, the centrepiece of the Bible:

> In truth, Sir, the connection of that people with the holy promised land, which was given for a possession to *Abraham* and his seed for ever, has something in it to my apprehension very extraordinary and remarkable. It is a connection, the importance and value of which may be traced through all the books from *Genesis* to the *Revelations*; a connection magnified by the prophets, and adored by the people; regretted most bitterly when broken, and triumphed in when restored. It is the subject of God's almighty's [*sic*] favour, and of his anger, of his rewards, and of his punishments. It extends from the time of *Abraham* to that of *Titus*; and when once more renewed, as renewed it must be, may perhaps out-live the present system.[139]

For these writers, the Bill was less important in itself than as a first step towards the coming restoration of the Jewish people to their promised land. Even Pelham, in seeking in May to address concerns that the Bill served to undermine prophecy, hinted as much. The Jews could never expect to be 'established in a country which they could call their own' until 'they have acknowledged Christ to be the messiah, and have embraced his religion. If the indulgence proposed to them in this country could contribute to this desirable end, as I think it will, I hope every gentleman will admit that it is a strong argument in favour of the Bill'.[140] This position was stated much more forcefully by those pamphleteers who were writing in favour of the measure. 'I have observed indeed and sincerely hope it will be so', noted a writer

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[136] *The Crisis, or an Alarm to Britannia's True Protestant Sons* (London, 1753), p. 23.

[137] *Some Queries*, p. 28.

[138] *An Explanation of Some Prophecies Contained in the Book of Daniel, wherein the Particular Times of the Destruction of the Mahometans and of the Restoration of the Jews are Pointed Out* (London, 1753), p. 13.

[139] [Weston], *ΔΙΑΣΠΟΡΑ*, p. 19.

[140] *Parliamentary History*, xiv. 1415.

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who identified himself only as a member of the Church of England, 'that the *conversion* of the *Jews* may be the consequence of *this bill* … the opinion of their *conversion* and *restoration* had been a settled and determined one, strengthened and supported in many passages of scripture'.[141] 'It is not here said, that the CONVERSION of the JEWS was the thing intended by this ACT', noted the preacher Thomas Winstanley, 'though it would be hard to say it was not. But whatever was the end proposed, or whatever were the motives to it, whether good or bad; if it should hereafter be productive of such good and excellent fruits, we Christians surely shall have no just cause of complaint'.[142] The Jews might remember 'there are several passages in the same scriptures, which speak of their restoration, as well as their conversion, in the plainest and most expressive terms'; could the Bill, he wondered, be seen 'as something more than human, as something providential, in their favour'?[143] For some, to fight against the Bill was 'to deny what the scripture so expressly affirms, that they will be restored to the privilege of being the peculiar people of God'. Thus 'the first step towards their restoration will be that God will give them favour in the sight of all sincere Christians'.[144] Given the general tone of the debate, this was a somewhat optimistic claim for the Bill's effect.

All of these writers therefore placed the Bill within an eschatological context. It was to act as the catalyst for the conversion of the Jews and their restoration to their land. The implication was that England would have a distinctive role to play in Jewish restoration. Just as the Bill's opponents had used prophecy to address imperial anxieties, so its supporters linked the legislation to securing a special destiny for the nation. Some took this literally, with the idea that England would physically restore the Jews occasionally being mooted. The ships of Tarshish mentioned in Isaiah 60, thought one author, 'clearly implies that the *first* return of these *Jews* shall be by ships passing along the Mediterranean, from remote islands'.[145] The privileges that naturalised Jews could now enjoy were therefore prophetic: 'the first setting out of the *Jews* to their own land will be from *England*, not only by assistance of an *English* fleet, but that, by the late naturalization of the *Jews* here, they may be enabled not only to extend their trade, enrich themselves, but purchase ships of their own'.[146] However, the predominant eschatological interpretation linked English piety with the prophetic

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[141] *An Earnest and Serious Address to The Electors and Freeholders of Great Britain* (London, 1753), pp. 16–17.

[142] Thomas Winstanley, *A Sermon Preached at the Parish-Church of St. George, Hanover-Square, Sunday October 28, 1753: On Occasion of the Clamours against the Act for Naturalizing the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 14.

[143] Winstanley, *Sermon*, p. 18.

[144] *A True State*, pp. 31–2.

[145] *The Full and Final Restoration of the Jews and Israelites, Evidently Set Forth to be Nigh at Hand: with their Happy Settlement in their own Land* (London, 1753), p. 14.

[146] *Full and Final Restoration*, p. 15.

potential for conversion. Englishness here became a fluid and polyglot marker of identity. The Jews would thus contribute to English identity, and gain from it those attributes which would prepare them to resume their rightful role as God's people on earth. Whereas their opponents feared pollution of the national body through contact with foreigners, the Bill's supporters embraced a model in which national (and imperial) expansion was deemed to be beneficial. Englishness became the crucible for a truly elect identity.

This idea of elect identity saw the Jews as a blank slate: 'Like cloth ready to receive any dye' as 'Philo-Patriae' put it.[147] This allowed the Jews to incorporate into the English nation without any difficulty. Such processes of integration had been occurring since prehistory. 'But do we remember, that our ancestors, and Christianity itself, were both originally of a *foreign* growth?', noted the author of *The Crisis*, 'Neither the soil nor the climate produced either. Into what a *chaos* would this whimsical notion of a *native* of *Great-Britain* reduce us! At this rate neither laity nor clergy would find it easy to trace out an hereditary right to their land in religion'.[148] By recognising that the nation itself was a mixture of different peoples, it was possible to imagine a Jewish presence without difficulty. The claim by some opponents of the Bill that even a Jew born in England should not be considered English was therefore ludicrous: 'Who are the English, than by any other method, than by being born here in *England*? For is not our nation a mixture of *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Germans*, and *French*, with the *Antient Britons*?'[149] Englishness was therefore not to be defined by drawing on the idea of a pure English bloodline, but rather on ideas of birthright and connection to the inherent qualities of the land. This was certainly partially conditioned by awareness of the compound nature of British identity after the Act of Union.[150] But there was also an awareness of the potential for positive transformations through residence in England, a view which can be seen to tally with the idea that a shared conception of 'Britishness' could be spread to diverse peoples in new territories in America.[151] Yet, while this model of national identity might have promoted the transformative impact of an outward-looking nation, it remained resolutely focused on the qualities of the English. 'Philo-Patriae' illustrated this when he concluded that Jews 'from *Spain* have the pride, ostentation and jealousy peculiar to that nation … those

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[147] 'Philo-Patriae', *Further Considerations*, p. 7.

[148] *The Crisis, or an Alarm*, p. 11.

[149] *An Address to the Friends of Great-Britain Occasion'd by the Debates among the People and the Answer to Considerations on the Bill for Naturalizing the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 7.

[150] Colley, *Britons*, pp. 11–18; J.C.D Clark, 'Protestantism, Nationalism and National Identity, 1660–1832', *The Historical Journal*, xliii (2000), pp. 249–76; C. Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 99–122.

[151] See P.J. Marshall, 'Britain and the World in the Eighteenth Century, IV: The Turning Outwards of Britain', reprinted as Chapter XVI in *'A Free though Conquering People'*.

from *Holland* and *Germany* many of the vices of those nations; and, among those of this country, may be found many of the *English* virtues, and more particularly love of liberty and their country'.[152]

By bringing the Jews into England, the nation would therefore play the key role in converting them in preparation for their return to Palestine. 'The general conversion of the *Jewish* nation must begin *somewhere*, and none can tell *how soon*, why should we endeavour to prevent its *beginning* here?' asked Tucker.[153] *A Looking Glass for the Jews* posed the same question: 'Unless you can see into future events, and are acquainted with the precise time of their call, how do you know but their naturalization here is the first step to their conversion; and that *England* is this happy country where this great revolution in the affairs of the world is to commence?'[154] 'They will not continue long with us', predicted the author of *Full and Final Restoration* confidently, 'and that even the passing this Naturalization Act, may in some measure, strengthen them both earlier and easier to depart to their own land'.[155] Thus, whereas the opponents of the Bill worried about the consequences of blessing a people cursed by God, for the supporters of the Bill the opposite was true: 'Let us seriously consider what danger attends the misusing them,' warned 'Philo-Patriae', 'and I defy any one to shew a nation, either ancient or modern, that has not proved the truth of this menace. The *Spanish* and *Portuguese* monarchies have been late instances of it in the strongest manner'.[156] Weston sombrely noted that the English 'beware, that *we curse not those whom God hath not cursed*; more especially, as we know not how near that time may be, when it shall please God to fulfil in the eyes of all nations, what remains to be fulfilled of his covenant with their illustrious ancestor [i.e. Abraham]'.[157]

The debate over the Jew Bill was complex and the controversies that surrounded it comprised a variety of concerns. These included criticisms of the Pelham ministry, worries about the unity of the British state, concerns over imperial projects, and fears over the future of religion. Within all of these categories, Restorationism had a role to play, whether in providing the narrative background that allowed wide discussion of theories of Jewish militarism and takeover, or in continuing to argue for the centrality of the restoration of the Jews and England's role within it. Understanding the importance of continuing Restorationist thought in these debates is important for a number of reasons. For scholars of

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[152] 'Philo-Patriae', *Further Considerations*, p. 7. See also p. 42: 'I ever was of the opinion, that men's geniuses, nationally considered, are equal; where there is any difference, it must arise either from education or circumstances'.

[153] Tucker, *Second Letter*, p. 42.

[154] *A Looking Glass*, p. vii.

[155] *Full and Final*, p. 2.

[156] 'Philo-Patriae', *Further Considerations*, p. 90.

[157] Weston, *ΔΙΑΣΠΟΡΑ*, pp. 40–41.

Anglo-Jewry, it helps to explain why Jews were portrayed as violent and land-grabbing by opponents of the Bill. Tapping into a reservoir of Judeo-centric images, they were able to bring the militarised image of the Jews desperate to gain their own land to the fore and to use it to their political advantage, while addressing contemporary political and imperial concerns.

The use of the Restoration motif also highlights the continuing importance of religion to mid-eighteenth-century political debates. While work on the Jew Bill has often argued that religion was being used primarily for political ends, or merely returning to old anti-Semitic tropes, the way in which Restorationism was used on both sides of the debate highlights the importance of religion for both the Bill's supporters and its detractors. It also helps to explain why the use of religious categories to make either political or anti-Semitic arguments was so effective. Finally, it enables scholars of English identity to understand the way in which Judaism was used to help construct varied concepts of Englishness in the mid-eighteenth century. The fact that England's fate was seen as being bound up with the nation's treatment of the Jewish people, and the importance of this in the key debate on what constituted Englishness in mid-century, shows the continued strength of Judeo-centrism as a tool of identity construction. Even when writers emphasised the polyglot nature of their own identity, theoretically dismantling the otherness of the Jews, the idea of restoration and Jewish promotion above the Gentiles, and the belief that God judged nations by the manner in which they treated the Jews, continued to emphasise Jewish difference. Historians of religion in the eighteenth century, particularly those dealing with the interactions between English Christians and Jews, should therefore be alive to the continuing influence of eschatology, and its pervasive influence upon key political debates of the time.

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Source: *Jewish Social Studies*, Jan., 1947, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Jan., 1947), pp. 33-60

Published by: Indiana University Press

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/4464737

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THE JEWISH SAINT-SIMONIANS AND SOCIALIST ANTISEMITES IN FRANCE*

By Zosa Szajkowski

> *"Le socialisme, un jour, s'étant oublie, l' antisemitisme fut. Il n'est pas de sottes origines."* (Tabarant, 1898)

The movement inspired by Claude-Henri Saint-Simon and the views of its opponents regarding the Jews are significant phases of the anti-Jewish trend in 19th-century France. Since the publication of Georges Weill's article on Saint-Simonism and the Jews in 1895,[1] a number of valuable studies relating to the subject have appeared. A study of the Jewish adherents of Saint-Simonism and of the part played by the opponents of the movement will reveal the significant contribution of the early French socialists to the background of Edouard Drumont. The essay presented here is intended to analyze the political current which gave birth to Drumont's first antisemitic book in 1886. Claude Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825) founded his movement in the post-Napoleonic years, when France was striving for economic recovery. This process, however, was hampered by the lack of enterprising business-men particularly men with substantial capital at their disposal. The masses, it is true, looked with a hostile eye at the manufacturers and the bankers and yet the man in the street had the naive belief that "capital" was capable of achieving miracles. The prevailing type of French capitalist, however, was at that time the small businessman, who had to borrow from others of the same class, a state of affairs which led to the emergence of small co-operative enterprises. The government was not in position to lend any substantial assistance.

This was the situation in France, when Saint-Simonism emerged, pro-

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* Read before a meeting of the Yiddish Scientific Institute on May 26, 1946.

[1] Weill, Georges, "Les Juifs et le Saint-Simonisme," in *Revue des études juives*, vol. xxxi (1895) 261-80.

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claiming that politics must become a social science. The Saint-Simonians never mentioned the exploitation of the workers, nor did they put forward the demand for social equality. They did talk a great deal, however, about improving the lot of the poor, about the need for organizing in order to master and exploit the natural resources and the machines, and about centralized enterprises and big markets, serving not only individuals, but the masses as well. These ideas were draped in the cloak of a new religion, announced by the "prophet," Saint-Simon. The adherents of Saint-Simonism were to be found mainly among the students of the Polytechnicum, the young bankers and businessmen.[2] What Léon Halévy said about Emile Péreire, a Jewish Saint-Simonian, applies to other followers of the new gospel as well: all firmly believed that the moment was close at hand, when man would conquer nature and matter.[3] This school consisted essentially of utopian aristocrats with far-reaching ideals; Saint-Simonism never became a mass movement. While the Saint-Simonist dream of a new religion was stillborn, the practical aspects of the movement proved more lasting: the activities of its adherents had a considerable share in the industrialization of the country and in the strengthening of the structure of French capitalism.

Saint-Simon had never studied Jewish problems, although this did not deter him from having an unfavorable opinion of the Jews.[4] This, however, is of little consequence here. As Sebastien Charléty, one of the best historians of Saint-Simonism, has rightly pointed out, the history of the movement began after Saint-Simon's death.[5] The real founder was a Jewish youth, Benjamin Olinde Rodrigues (1795-1851); it was from him that Enfantin, who was to become the "father" of the Saint-Simonian temple, received Saint-Simon's ideological heritage.[6] Rodrigues was born in Bordeaux in a merchant's family, which moved to Paris, where the father was for a time secretary of the Sanhedrin.[7] Rodrigues spent his

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[2] Pinet, G., "L'Ecole polytechnique et les Saint-Simoniens," in *Revue de Paris,* vol. iii (1894) 73-96.

[3] Halévy, Léon, *F. Halévy* (Paris 1863) p. 17.

[4] "Ce peuple sombre, concentré, devoré de l'orgueil," in *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin* (Paris 1865-78) vol. xix, p. 178.

[5] Charléty, Sebastian, *Histoire du Saint-Simonisme* (Paris 1931) p. 25.

[6] *Globe* (April 20, 1832).

[7] Courtéault, Paul, "Un Bordelais Saint-Simonien," in *Revue philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest,* vol. xxviii (1925) 152; Hildenfinger, P., "Un Ami des juifs en 1810," in *Univers Israélite,* vol. xcvii (1904) 304.

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youth in a Jewish milieu, which soon became emancipated and even assimilated, but nevertheless remained exposed to antisemitism.[8] Although Rodrigues was an exceptionally able young man, he was not admitted, because of his Jewish descent, to the Ecole Normale Supérieure and, therefore, shifted to banking and to the Polytechnicum, where he met Saint-Simon and became his intimate friend, associate and counselor. Another young friend of Saint-Simon's was a neighbor of Rodrigues, Léon Halévy, who was for a time Saint-Simon's secretary and who became during the years following the master's death in 1825 one of his most active disciples.

Léon Halévy was a son of Elie Halévy (Halphen) (1760-1826), who came from Germany to Paris as a young man and was known as the author of a poem dedicated to Napoleon I (1801).[9] Elie Halévy worked as a clerk in the Jewish consistory; he was the author of a Jewish catechism[10] and edited the first French-Jewish periodical, *L'Israelite Francais*.[11] He sent his children, Léon and Fromenthal, to the Charlemagne lyceum, a step which had considerable repercussion among the Parisian Jews.[12] According to the testimony of Léon, the father had no direct influence on the education of his children; both sons grew up to be well-educated men. Léon Halévy became a professor of the Polytechnicum, secretary to Saint-Simon and a noted writer and his brother achieved prominence in music and literature.[13] Léon Halévy also suffered on account of his Jewish descent,[14] though he wrote once that the French Jews have no reason to fear intolerance any more. Michel Berr, a former secretary of the San-

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[8] Posener, S., "La Première génération d'Israélites français après l'émancipation," in *Univers Israélite* (1903) no. 42-44; Bloch, Maurice, "La Société juive en France depuis la Révolution," in *Revue des études juives,* vol. xxxvi (1904); Berman, Léon, *Histoire des juifs en France* (Paris 1937) p. 397, 413-14.

[9] *Archives Israélites,* vol xliv (1883) 296-97; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* Beiblatt no. 1; Graetz, H., *Geschichte der Juden,* vol. xi, p. 217-18.

[10] Halévy, Elie, *Instruction religieuse et moral à l'usage de la jeunesse israélite* (Metz 1820); cf. *Catalogue général de livres imprimés.* vol. lxvii p. 1014; Halévy, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[11] *L'Israelite français, ouvrage moral et littéraire, rédigé par une société de gens de lettres* (Paris 1817-18); cf. B[err], M[ichel], *Lettre sur les premières livraisons de L'Israélite Français, addressée à M. Villenave* (Paris 1818); Posener, S., in *Parizer Haint* (January 23, 1931).

[12] *Archives Israélites,* vol. xxxxiv (1883) 296-97.

[13] Halévy, *op. cit.,* p. 8. Some have erroneously made Fromenthal also a Saint-Simonian: cf. Malon, Benoit, *Histoire du Socialisme* (Paris 1883) vol. ii, p. 35.

[14] I. M., "Four generations," (Yiddish) in *Paris* (August 30, 1935); cf. Kahan, Daniel, in *Revue juive de Lorraine* (July 1935).

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hedrin, in 1825 pointed out in answer to Halévy that the position of French Jewry was still far from satisfactory.[15]

The parents of Olinde Rodrigues and of Léon Halévy lived in the same house and were good friends;[16] the young men used to meet very often. The apartments of Halévy and Rodrigues became literary "salons" where well-educated Jewish youth of Paris and their non-Jewish friends used to meet to discuss literature, art and politics. It was at these gatherings that Rodrigues recruited new followers of Saint-Simonism — his own brother, Eugène, who died prematurely in 1830, Baron d'Eichthal and the Péreire brothers, Isaac and Emile, who were related to the Rodrigues.[17] Baron Gustave d'Eichthal was born in a family of Jewish bankers from Bavaria named Seligmann.[18] The Seligmanns migrated to Paris and after some time their bank was taken over by the Mirabeaux.[19] According to some sources, when d'Eichthal was born, his parents were already baptised, but Weill contends that Gustave embraced the Christian faith as a young man.[20] D'Eichthal himself once confessed to "Father" Enfantin that at the age of fourteen he had become a Christian and at nineteen a Saint-Simonian.[21] D'Eichthal said later, in the preface to a pamphlet, which he published together with a negro Saint-Simonian, Ismail Urbain, that in his childhood he had often suffered because of his Jewish name. He wrote, at that period, to a friend: Urbain and I, a negro and a Jew, are "two outcasts, two prophets."[22]

The brothers Jacob Emile (1800-74) and Isaac Péreire (1806-80) came from an old Sephardic family which had settled in Bordeaux. Their grandfather was the famous Jacob Rodrigues Péreire (1715-80), the first teacher of deaf mutes in France.[23] The Péreire brothers too were students

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[15] Berr, Michel, *Lettre sur les israélites et le judaisme au Directeur du Panorama des nouveautés parisiennes* (Paris 1825) p. 2.

[16] Halévy, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[17] Malzévin, T., *Histoire des juifs à Bordeaux* (Bordeaux 1875) p. 328-29.

[18] Michaud and Villenave, *Histoire du Saint-Simonisme et de la famille de Rothschild* (Paris 1847) p. 47.

[19] Hamon, Augustin (F. A.), and X. Y. Z., *Les Maîtres de la France* (Paris 1936) p. 241.

[20] Weill, Georges, *L'Ecole Saint-Simonienne* (Paris 1896) p. 122.

[21] Charléty, *op. cit.* p. 73. He was, nevertheless, identified as one of the Jewish Saint-Simonians by Lazare, Bernard, *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes,* 2nd edition (Paris 1934) vol. ii, p. 199 and Posener, S., in *Univers Israélite* (1930) no. 42-43.

[22] D'Eichtal, Gustave, and Urban, Ismail, *Lettres sur la race noire et la race blanche* (Paris 1839) p. 12-13.

[23] Séguin, E., *J. R. Péreire* (Paris 1847); Léon, Henry, *Histoire des juifs de Bordeaux* (Paris 1893) p. 406.

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at the Polytechnicum and thus found themselves within the orbit of Saint-Simonism. Of the other Jewish Saint-Simonians who joined the group at a somewhat later date mention may be made of Sareles[24] and the physician Léon Simon; the latter was noted for advocating homeopathy on the ground that it is a cheap method of curing diseases and, therefore, of particular value to the workers.[25]

II

The number of active and prominent Jewish Saint-Simonians at no time exceed a dozen. One must, however, bear in mind that the Saint-Simonians were, in general, a small sect and that it was precisely the few Jewish members who play the major part in the practical realization of Saint-Simonian teachings. Thus the participation of Jews in this movement was very conspicuous, a fact of which both Jews and antisemites have made much. Jewish apologetic writers used to exclaim: "Look at the immediate results of Jewish emancipation! A handful of Jews have played an important part in the economic reconstruction of France!" The historian Léon Berman, for instance, rightly asserts that Rothschild and the Péreire brothers helped France to make up for the delay in her industrial development.[26] Alexander Weill, a Jewish writer, of whom we shall speak at length later, wrote (1867) that "since the death of the [Second] Republic the Jews, together with the Saint-Simonians, played a leading part in the country's financial, industrial and commercial development."[27] The famous Jewish anarchist, Bernard Lazare, an active participant in the campaign to exonerate Dreyfus, declared likewise that the Jews were instrumental in realizing the Saint-Simonian slogans of the rising bourgeoisie. Lazare believed that in this instance, too, the Jews acted as exponents of bourgeois philosophy and proved the most reliable allies of the bourgeoisie; this was, to Lazare, the main reason why the conservative elements were largely anti-Jewish. It is, indeed, a fact that the Catholic Church had looked for some time upon the growth of industry with considerable apprehension. The French Revolution, maintained Lazare, emancipated the Jews, because the bourgeoisie was vitally inter-

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[24] Posener, *loc. cit.,* p. 456.

[25] Cf. Lorenz, Otto, *Catalogue général de la librairie française,* vol. iv, p. 402, vol. vi, p. 572.

[26] Berman, *op. cit.,* p. 405.

[27] Weill, Alexandre, *Mes Batailles* (Paris 1867) p. 291.

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ested in liberating those who were particularly fitted for the role of pioneers of industry and finance.[28] As we shall see later, Eugène Rodrigues expressed a similar opinion at an even earlier date.

Various wits used to call the Saint-Simonians "new Christians," or even "new Jews."[29] Others observed good-naturedly that Saint-Simonians and Jews had one quality in common — both helped each other.[30] The noted republican journalist and historian, Taxile Delord (1815-77), told the following story: A Frenchman wanted to open a store; his friend, however, tried to dissuade him from this plan, as the would-be shopkeeper did not have a Jewish partner. The former answered: "Never mind, I have two Saint-Simonians."[31] On the other hand, in view of the strong ideological opposition to Saint-Simonism on the part of Fourierists, Proudhonists and adherents of other socialist schools, the active participation of Jews in the Saint-Simonist movement gave the impetus to a new "socialist" brand of antisemitism.

The Fourierists, the Proudhonists and the plain Jew-baiters regarded Saint-Simonism as a Jewish venture. Not only — thus ran the consensus — did a few able Jews take an active part in the Saint-Simonist movement; the point is that they did it precisely *because* they were Jews. Thus the Jewish share in Saint-Simonism assumed the proportions of spiritual hegemony. Even some Jewish scholars seem inclined at times to accept this version. The late S. Posener wrote that the participation of Jews in the movement was a form of protest against the persecution of their people. It was his distinguished Jewish origin, according to Posener, that induced Baron D'Eichthal to espouse the Saint-Simonist gospel, for in his childhood he had suffered because of his Jewish descent.[32] Olinde Rodrigues declared at a Saint-Simonist meeting in 1832 that on the day a Jew met Saint-Simon and found in him his new father, he became a member of a new universal family. "The feudal Christian gave a paternal kiss to the persecuted Jew who had crucified Jesus."[33] An interesting and sound assertion was made by an active socialist, who wrote in 1899 that the particularly conspicuous part played by the Jews in the development of

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[28] Lazare, *op cit.*, p. 48-51.

[29] Rodrigues, Eugène, *Lettres sur la religion et la politique* (Paris 1832) p. 272.

[30] Castille, Hippolyte, *Le Père Enfantin* (Paris 1859) p. 4-5.

[31] Delord, Taxile, *Les Troisièmes pages du journal "Le Siècle", portraits modernes* (Paris 1861) p. 110.

[32] Posener, *loc. cit.*, p. 526.

[33] *Globe* (January 16, 1832).

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French trade and finance was due not so much to specific Jewish features, as to the fact that the non-Jewish population was for a time rather backward in this respect, while the Jews took the initiative.[34] Eugène Rodrigues argued in his *Lettres sur la réligion et la politique,* in which he set forth the basic tenets of the Saint-Simonist religion, that the Jews had been by nature an industrial people. This trait became even more pronounced as the result of the Jewish dispersion: in the diaspora it was the function of the Jews to promote industry.[35]

At first the Saint-Simonians dreamed of a complete emancipation of the Jews and tried to do something in order to further it. For some time d'Eichthal, Enfantin and others believed that it would be possible to enlist Austria's aid in liberating the Jewish people. At the beginning of 1837 d'Eichthal went to Austria, where he sought an audience with Prince Charles in order to persuade him that the Jewish people had a new religious mission to fulfill and that it was, therefore, Austria's sacred duty to undertake the task of emancipating the Jews. Enfantin felt at the time very hopeful about d'Eichthal's trip, although only a few years earler (1831) he had gone on record, in his pronouncements on European politics, as a bitter foe of Austria. Perhaps in 1837 Enfantin toyed with the idea of enlisting the support of the foreign statesman, and he obviously gave credence to the rumours about Metternich's friendly attitude toward Saint-Simonism. D'Eichthal's trip, however, proved a complete failure.[36] Enfantin wrote in a letter to Heinrich Heine, who had at that time Saint-Simonist leanings:[37] "The Orient is calling upon God's chosen people; here is the wandering Jew, he is more than an individual, his name is Israel."[38] Enfantin, the "Father" of the sect, prophesied that the liberation would come through the Father and the Mother; the latter was about to appear in the guise of a Jewish woman from Turkey. "A society for welcoming the Mother" came into being, and the Saint-Simonians issued an appeal to Jewish women, urging them to participate in the welcome.[39]

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[34] Rouanet, Gustave, "La Question juive," in *Revue Socialiste,* vol. xxix (1889) 29.

[35] Rodrigues, Eugéne, *op. cit.,* p. 118.

[36] D'Allemagne, H. R., *Les Saint-Simoniens* (Paris 1930) p. 196; *idem, Prosper Enfant et les grandes entreprises du XIXe siècle* (Paris 1935) p. 8-9, 118; Charléty, *op. cit.,* p. 247.

[37] Butler, E. M., "Heine and St. Simonism," in *The Saint Simonian Religion in Germany* (Cambridge 1926); Clarke, Margaret A., *Heine et la Monarchie de Juillet* (Paris 1927).

[38] D'Allemagne, *Prosper Enfant,* p. 8-9.

[39] Colin, Auguste, *Aux femmes juives et à toutes celles qui liront cette parole, salut, au nom de Dieu, Père et Mère* (Lyon, July 1833).

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On Rosh Hashana, after the funeral of a Saint-Simonian, d'Eichthal and four other adherents of the "new religion" went to the synagogue, dressed in Saint-Simonist costumes.[40] Always so practical and down-to-earth, the Saint-Simonians became singularly vague and confused whenever they were faced with Jewish problems. All their plans concerning the emancipation of the Jews used to dissolve into that fog of mystery, with which the Saint-Simonians liked to surround themselves.

The only Jewish Saint-Simonian who exhibited some common sense in his approach to the Jewish question was Jules Carvallo (1820-1916), who played, however, no important part in the movement. Carvallo's proclamation advocating an international Jewish Congress, published in the *Univers Israélite* of February 1851, contributed substantially toward the establishment, in 1860, of the Alliance Israelite Universelle.[41] Like many other Saint-Simonians, Carvallo had graduated from the Polytechnicum, and two years later from a school for road-building. He worked for a time as a road-builder for the Péreire brothers, chiefly abroad, where he became interested in the position of the local Jewish community, and felt that it was his duty to make an effort to improve the lot of his co-religionists. In Carvallo's appeal of 1851 we find an echo of the Saint-Simonist theory that the Jewish people were given to the world in order to improve it, that the Jews have a historic mission to fulfill. In order, however, to be able to live up to this gigantic task, argues Carvallo, the Jewish people must, first of all, unite in order to defend themselves and "to protect the life of those whom God has entrusted with the task of carrying out His great plans." Carvallo's call for a Jewish congress was the only practical step taken by a Saint-Simonian in order to relieve the sufferings of the Jews. In spite of his adherence to that sect, however, Carvallo remained essentially a devout Jew; his appeal appeared in an orthodox publication that had nothing to do with Saint-Simonism. One should add that by the time Carvallo's statement was published, Saint-Simonism was already on the decline and the only tangible effects of the active participation of Jews in the movement were the big fortunes, made by a few Jewish businessmen, such as the Péreire brothers, in the process of realizing the Saint-Simonist program of industralization.

The only prominent Saint-Simonian who was actively interested in

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[40] "Les Souvenirs de Lambert-Bey," in *Archives Israélites* (1864) 211-15.

[41] Szajkowski, Z., "The Founding of the Alliance Israélite Universelle," (Yiddish) in *Yivo Bleter*, vol. xviii (1941) 4-5.

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the emancipation of Jews, was the baptised Jew, d'Eichthal. The non-Jewish Saint-Simonians never took him seriously; they looked upon him as a sort of a quixotic dreamer. Michel Chévallier used to call him "the Jewish Tyrtaeus."[42]

At a later stage of Saint-Simonism it was not too difficult to find among its adherents evidence of some anti-Jewish feeling. Emile Barrault, the same Saint-Simonian who, in speaking of the mystical concept of the Jewish "Mother" from Turkey, asserted that "Jews provide the industrial and political link between various people, they are the bankers of the angels, they hold in their hands the clue to war and peace,"[43] the same Barrault, who, together with d'Eichthal, went to a synagogue after the funeral of a comrade, carried on in 1848 violent antisemitic propaganda.[44] Even Pierre Leroux had written a number of articles against the Jews,[45] and the gifted Saint-Simonist writer, George Sand, who cannot be accused of antisemitism, wrote to a friend in April 1857 that she saw in the Jew the type of man who aspires to become the king of the world and threatens to murder Jesus Christ, i.e. the ideal. George Sand expressed the fear lest within fifty years France become Jewish.[46] One exception ought to be mentioned, Adolphe Guéroult, a friend of Carvallo's, who later became the editor of a Saint-Simonist organ with a Bonapartist tinge, *L'Opinion Nationale,* in which he often published sympathetic articles about the Jews.[47] In 1847, as French consul in one of the Central European countries, Guéroult urged the French government and French Jewry to do something for the local Jews, for example, to set up a school for Jewish children with French as the language of instruction. The government, however, received this suggestion rather coldly and the French Jews "did not even bother to answer."[48]

III

Saint Simonism was a neutral terrain where people of various faiths

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[42] Charléty, *op. city.* p. 247 (The poet Tyrtaeus is noted for inspiring the Spartans *ca.* 600 B.C.E. to subdue the Messenian rebels.)

[43] Barrault, Emile, *Aux Femmes juives* (1833?); cf. Charléty, *op. cit.,* p. 247.

[44] Barrault, Emile, *Lettres contemporaines, 3e livraison. Lettre à M. Rothschild (Paris* [August] 1848); Czynski, J., *Le Réveil d'Israël* (Paris 1848) p. 136, 155; Drumont, E., *La France juive* (Paris 1886) vol. i, p. 370.

[45] Czynski, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

[46] "George Sand antisémite," in *Univers Israélite,* vol. xxxviii (1882-83) 438-39.

[47] Guéroult, Adolphe, *Etudes de politique et philosophie religieuse* (Paris 1863).

[48] *L'Opinion Nationale* (July 15, 1860).

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could meet and fraternize particularly if they had not been previously more closely knit together by their respective religions. The Saint-Simonist philosophy was basically incompatible with Jewish religious tradition. Saint-Simonism attempted to effect a synthesis of all existing religious faiths, but it was Christianity that was to form the core of the new doctrine. In fact, as recent historical studies have clearly shown, it was not long before the Saint-Simonist apparatus started working full blast for the Catholic Church. Indeed, many of the members eventually developed into conventional Catholic propagandists,[49] while, with the exception of Carvallo, none of the Jewish Saint-Simonians was ever active in any sphere whatever of Jewish communal life. Willy-nilly the Jewish followers of Saint-Simonism were moving farther and farther away from Jewish tradition, as they proceeded down the path of the new religion, whose basis was Catholic.

Long after he had left the movement and had become engrossed in research, Gustave d'Eichthal wrote that he had learned from Saint-Simonism one important truth: that the final organization of modern society can be achieved only through the regeneration of Christianity. "I use, however, the word 'Christianity'," he added, "in the broadest possible sense in connection with Judaism from which Christianity has separated."[50] His son, Eugène d'Eichthal (1844-1936), an avowed foe of socialism,[51] wrote in the introduction to the collection of his father's writings that Gustave d'Eichthal tried to combine modern civilization with the Christian-Jewish tradition.[52] The historian Weill believed that d'Eichthal's active participation in the Saint-Simonist religious services, celebrated at their temple at Menilmontant and his zeal in learning the ways of the "new religion" and in studying the Bible were motivated by the ardent desire "to build a bridge of common religious tradition between Saint-Simonism and Judaism."[53] In reality, however, Gustave d'Eichthal was a fervant Christian, much more so than the other Saint-Simonians. In 1832 he confided to a friend that he had had a vision in which he had seen the Virgin and that Jesus Christ dwelled in his bosom.

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[49] Brunet, George, *Le Mysticisme social de Saint-Simon* (Paris 1925) p. 123-25.

[50] D'Eichthal, Gustave, *Mémoire sur le texte primitif du premier récit det la création* (Paris 1875) p. 3-4.

[51] D'Eichthal, Eugène, *Mes Griefs contre le Socialisme* (Paris 1888) p. 12; cf. Tirard, Paul, in *Revue des sciences politiques,* vol. lix, p. 5-7.

[52] D'Eichthal, Gustave, *Mélanges de critique biblique* (Paris 1886) vol. ii.

[53] Weill, in *Revue des études juives,* vol. xxxi (1895) 266-67.

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Some time earlier he had tried to make Enfantin a better Catholic.[54] The only vestige of d'Eichthal's ideas on Jews and Judaism was his persistent interest in Bible study, a subject on which he wrote several books.[55]

Léon Halévy, who left the Saint-Simonist movement at an early date, also became estranged from Jewish life, although he occasionally wrote on Jewish affairs[56] and published two booklets on ancient and modern Jewish history.[57] Halévy married a gentile girl[58] and was strongly influenced, through the medium of Saint-Simonism, by Christian ideas, although the Saint-Simonist concept of a new, regenerated Christianity deterred him from conversion. In his history of the Jewish people Halévy wrote that Judaism was intended to become eventually a universal religion, but it could not fulfill this mission without returning to the purity of the primitive Jewish faith, as Jesus had done.[59] The Jewish religion, argued Halévy, must be reformed, since it is an Asiatic religion.[60] The "father" of Saint-Simonism, Enfantin, praised Halévy's history highly and quoted with approval the passage dealing with the role of Jesus.[61] Halévy's history suggested to Enfantin the idea that the Jews were not living up to the standards set by the religion which they had given to the world. Similarly, another writer in a periodical with strong Saint-Simonist leanings, remarked that Halévy was no ordinary Jew but a philosopher.[62] In his preface to the credo of the first Saint-Simonians Halévy wrote that "Christianity as realized by the French Revolution has finally torn to shreds the curtain which obstructed our view."[63] Halévy later parted with the Saint-Simonians. He claimed that Saint-Simon did not want to be a God, that Saint-Simonism was intended to be a school, rather than a religion.[64] Halévy did not return, however, to Jewish tradition; he

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[54] Allemagne, *St. Simonisme,* p. 264.

[55] Vernes, Maurice, *M. Gustave d'Eichthal et ses travaux sur l'Ancien Testament* (Paris 1887); Loeb, Isidore, in *Revue des études juives,* vol. xv (1887) 153-55.

[56] Halévy, Léon, "Egée, scène lyrique," in *L'Israélite Français* (1817) 137; "Les Juifs d'Afrique Centrale, Arabie, Chine, Malabar," in *Annales Critiques* (1856); "Sur un Arrêté de M. Cousin," in *Archives Israélites,* vol. i, p. 449.

[57] Halévy, Léon; *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs anciens* (Paris 1825); *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs modernes* (Paris 1828).

[58] *Archives Israélites,* vol. xxxxiv (1883) 206; Halévy, *F. Halévy,* p. 22.

[59] Halévy, *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs anciens,* p. 336-37.

[60] *Ibid,* p. 385.

[61] E[nfantin], in *Le Producteur,* vol. i (1825) 280-84.

[62] *Le Globe* (1825) 828.

[63] *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles* (Paris 1825) p. 19.

[64] Halévy, Léon, *Saint Simon, ode* (Paris 1831).

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never lived as a Jew, although he was buried in the Jewish cemetery. After his death an orthodox French-Jewish magazine wrote that "in general Léon Halévy does not belong to Judaism, except for his cradle and his grave."[65]

Spurred on by their Saint-Simonist philosophy, the Péreire brothers grew very rich, particularly during the reign of Napoleon III (1852-70); the Second Empire and Saint-Simonism seemed to have been made for each other.[66] In 1868 the property of the Péreire brothers was estimated as 160,000,000 francs.[67] Emile Péreire was the pioneer of railroad building in France.[68] The bankers, including Rothschild, came into the picture only after Emile Péreire had been granted by parliament the concession for the first railroad in France, from Paris to Saint-Germain (1835). Later the Péreire brothers initiated and founded new credit enterprises;[69] theirs was not an insignificant share in the growth of Paris.

The Péreire brothers eventually moved away from Jewish tradition (this is particularly true of the younger brother).[70] After the death of Emile Péreire the organ of the conservative French Jews wrote: "Let it be known that today a great Jew has fallen."[71] There is a story that when Emile Péreire was engaged in building the Bordeaux-Madrid railroad, arriving in Spain for the first time from which his ancestors had been banished, he exclaimed: *"Shema Israel!"*[72] When his brother, Isaac, died he was buried in accordance with Jewish rites but the above-quoted Jewish magazine wrote that his death was a loss for finance, but not for Jewry.[73] His son Eugène (1831-1907) was brought up in a fashion that had little in common with Jewish tradition. A biographer of the Péreire brothers states that when Eugène Péreire decided to marry the daughter of a Jewish notary, it transpired that Eugène was a man without a religion,

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[65] *Univers Israélite,* vol xxxix (1884) 34.

[66] Weill, Georges, "Les Saint-Simioniens sous Napoléon III," in *Revue des études napoléoniennes,* vol. iii (1913).

[67] Allemagne, *Enfantin,* p. 205.

[68] Péreire, *La Question des chemins de fer* (Paris 1879) p. 69 ff.; Levasseur, E., *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789 à 1870* (Paris 1904) vol. ii, p. 93-117.

[69] Stakic, V. D., *La Doctrine française du Crédit Mutuel* (Paris 1924).

[70] Cf. Posener, *loc. cit.,* p. 526, who exaggerates the Péreires interest in Judaism.

[71] *Univers Israélite,* vol. xxx (1874) 39.

[72] *Ibid.,* p. 310.

[73] *Ibid.,* vol. xxxv (1880) 698.

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neither a Jew nor a Christian. His father told him, therefore, that he was free to choose his religion and Eugène, out of consideration for his fiancée, chose the Jewish faith and remained a Jew until the end of his life.[74]

In his book concerning religious problems[75] Isaac Péreire made no reference to the Saint-Simonist religion, but neither did he revert to the faith of his ancestors. He attempted rather to persuade the Church to conclude an alliance with freedom, science and industry and thus make possible the betterment of mankind.

To the bulk of French Jewry the Saint-Simonist philosophy remained completely alien; it was in fact vigorously opposed in some Jewish circles. Among its ardent opponents was Joseph Cohen (1817-1899), a lawyer from Aix-en Provence, who as a young man showed great interest in the situation of the Jews in Algeria.[76] Later he became the editor of the weekly *Verité Israélite* (1860-63) and wrote a number of articles and books, in which he not only defended the Jews but ventured to criticise Christianity.[77] For some time Joseph Cohen worked on the staff of the daily *La Liberté,* which was owned by Isaac Péreire in 1876-80. In a series of articles, published in his weekly and dealing with Enfantin's book, Joseph Cohen sharply attacked the religious concepts of Saint-Simonism. The philosophical and socio-economic teachings of Saint-Simon, he conceded, had an effect on the social development of France but had otherwise left no traces. The religious ideas of Saint-Simonism had withered away, since there was no genuine faith in God to keep them alive, and without such a faith no religion could long exist. The Jews believe in God and freedom, maintained Cohen; consequently they must believe in the moral responsibility of man. Enfantin pretends to be God's prophet; in fact, however, he is merely a philosopher, who with the limited resources of the mortal mind tries to penetrate the mystery of creation and eternity.[78]

One of the most articulate political opponents of Saint-Simonism among

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[74] Castille, Hippolyte, *Les Frères Péreire* (Paris 1861) p. 56; *Archives Israélites,* vol. lxix (1908) 101.

[75] Péreire, Isaac, *La Question religieuse* (Paris 1878).

[76] Szajkowski, Z., "The founding of the Alliance Israélite Universelle," (Yiddish) in *Yivo Bleter,* vol. xxi (1943) 55, 57.

[77] Cohen, Joseph, *Les Déicides* (Paris 1864; 2nd edition 1886; English edition, Baltimore 1873); *Les Pharisiens* (Paris 1877) vol. i-ii.

[78] *Ibid.,* "La Vie éternelle, lettres à P. Enfantin," in *Vérité Israélite,* vol. iv (1862) 769-74, 773-99, 817-25.

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the prominent French Jews was Adolphe Franck, (1809-93), a noted scholar and author of a book on Kabbala. Franck on several occasions harshly criticised the materialist school. His violent attacks on "socialist-communist" ideas gained him admission to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (1844), to the College de France (1854) and finally to the Institute de France. One of the most influential members of the Jewish Consistory,[79] Franck often expressed the official viewpoint of French Jewry, particularly of its "reformed" segment. In his philosophical dictionary he characterized the various socialist schools in the following manner: the Fourierists aim to destroy the family and all moral discipline; the communists are bent on destroying private property; the Saint-Simonians want to annihilate the individual by depriving him of his very conscience, to make of pantheism a religion and to create a new cult, dedicated equally to matter and spirit. This sect seeks to establish a universal tyranny from which one man only would profit.[80]

IV

In the heyday of Saint-Simonism its most bitter opponents were Charles Fourier and his disciples. The Fourierists, whose ideal was "God, matter and justice," loathed and vigorously opposed the materialistic aims of Saint-Simonism. The active participation of Jews in the Saint-Simonist movement induced Fourier and his followers to join the ranks of the Jew-haters. To be sure, Fourier's writings contain a few seemingly kind words about the Jews which may mislead the unsuspicious reader. Thus, Fourier proposed that Rothschild should buy Palestine and establish the Jewish national home there.[81] There is, however, no dearth of such "pro-Jewish" statements by avowed antisemites, the obvious motive behind these pronouncements being the desire to get rid of the Jews. One should, furthermore, be wary of classifying Fourier as a utopian Zionist. Fourier himself dispels all possible doubt as to his actual stand by inserting into

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[79] Szajkowski, Z., "The founding of the Alliance Israélite Universelle," (Yiddish) in *Yivo Bleter,* vol. xviii (1941) 16.

[80] Franck, Adolphe, *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques* (Paris 1875) p. 1625, 1629; cf. *idem, Le Communisme jugé par l'histoire* (Paris 1848; 3rd edition 1871).

[81] Fourier, Charles, *La Fausse industrie* (Paris 1836) p. G 3,224; cf. Silberner, Edmund, "Charles Fourier on the Jewish Question," in JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES, vol. viii (1946) 245-66.

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the passage dealing with Palestine the ironic remark that, after establishing the Jewish national home, Rothschild will certainly emancipate the Christians too.[82] Fourier's writings abound in violent attacks on the Jews and Alphonse Toussenel, (1803-85), the most rabid Jew-baiter among the Fourierists, claimed that his antisemitism was in complete harmony with the teachings of his master.[83] Toussenel's hatred derived both from the Fourier school and from Catholic circles. During the thirties Toussenel worked on the staff of the ultra-conservative paper, *La Paix,*[84] where he met Louis Veuillot, who later became the leader of the Catholic antisemites, who undoubtedly exerted a strong influence on Fourier's most prominent disciple.

In 1845 the Fourierist Librairie de l'Ecole Sociétaire published a book castigating Jews and Saint-Simonians, destined to achieve great notoriety, Toussenel's *Les Juifs rois de l'epoque. Histoire de la féodalité financière.*[85] The main thesis of the book was the Jewish domination of France; "The dispersed remnants of the Saint-Simonian tribe joined hands with the dispersed remnants of the Jewish tribe. . . . This alliance was quite natural in view of the fact that a good many followers of the Saint-Simonist temple were circumcised." (Vol. 1, p. 223) Toussenel warned that Jews can grow rich only at the price of the country's general ruin *(ibid.*, p. 7); all the railroad owners were Jews (p. 9); the Saint-Simonians are merely the Jew's lackeys. (p. 10)

Before Toussenel the bulk of the antisemitic literature published in France had been sponsored by the Catholics. These writings charged that Jews were responsible for the French Revolution and that they were

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[82] Fourier, *ibid.*, p. H 3.

[83] Toussenel, *Les Juifs Rois De L'Epoque* (Paris 1847) p. xiv; cf. Schapira, Israël, *Der Antisemitismus in der französischen Literatur. Edouard Drumont und seine Quellen* (1934) p. 66-67; Muckle, F., *Geschichte der sozialistische Ideen im 19.Jhdt.*, vol. i, p. 110-111; *idem*, *Die grossen Sozialisten* (Berlin 1920) vol. i, p. 82-83; *Encyclopädia Judaica*, vol. ii, p. 1078-88; Grabski, W. I., *Karol Fourier* (Warsaw 1928) p. 68, 94, 144-45.

[84] Fernessole, Abbé Pierre, *Les Origines littéraires des Louis Veuillot* (Paris 1922) p. 169.

[85] An impossible edition of 1836 (!) is mentioned in Le Groupe des E.S.R.I., *Antisémitisme et Sionisme* (Paris 1900) p. 2; an impossible edition of 1841 (!) is mentioned by Guérin, Jules, *Les Trafiquants de l'antisémitisme*, p. 265. Later editions: 1847 (2 vol.); 1863 (cf. Lambélin, Roger, *L'impérialisme d'Israël* [Paris 1924] p. 306); 1886 and 1887 (cf. Lorenz, O., *op. cit.*, vol. xii p. 987); German edition, *Das Königthum der Juden in Frankreich, oder Geschichte der Finanz-Feudalherrschaft. Ertes Heft. Constitutioneller Staatshaushalt* (Erfurt 1851).

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bent on dominating the world.[86] Another group of propagandists claimed that the Jews had made no progress since their emancipation but had remained a foreign body in the national organism; typical of this brand of antisemitism is the book of the historian Theophile Hallez.[87] A third group openly attacked Jewish orthodoxy; they had no objection to "the Jewish God" but blamed all evils on the Talmud. They urged the Jews to repudiate the Talmud and the rabbis,[88] a view which was, incidentally, very popular among the Jewish reformers in France.

Fourier and his disciples, particularly Toussenel, aligned socialism with the antisemitic forces. It seems, however, that in the beginning socialist circles were not particularly satisfied with Toussenel's book. The editors of the Fourierist journal, *La Démocratie pacifique,* on whose staff Toussenel occupied the leading place, intentionally ignored the book.[89] A rumor circulated in Jewish circles that Victor Considerant, a prominent Fourierist, had ousted Toussenel from the editorial staff but this was untrue. Toussenel continued his anti-Jewish diatribes in this journal.[90] A Polish emigre and sincere friend of the Jews, Jan Czyniski, who was a noted Fourierist, protested against Toussenel and was followed by the Jewish emigre, Fraenkel, who had strong Fourierist leanings.[91] The Fourierist journals, however, praised Toussenel's work; even the socialist organ of the well-known Etienne Cabet published favorable reviews of Toussenel's book.[92]

The second and third editions of this book (1847) were prefaced by an intensified attack on the Jews, full of coarse invectives and abuse. At the same time Toussenel continued to vilify the Jews in the Fourierist press. In 1847 there also appeared a pamphlet directed against Rothschild and the Saint-Simonians. This consisted of the biographies of Saint-Simon

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[86] Malet, Chevalier, *Recherches historiques et politiques qui prouvent l'existence d'une secte révolutionnaire, son antique origine . . .*(Paris 1817); Becourt, Rénault, *Conspiration universelle du judaisme. . . .* (1835, preface only); Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la franc-maçonnerie* (Paris 1843).

[87] Hallez [Théophile], *Les Juifs en France, leur état moral et politique* (Paris 1845).

[88] See the publications of Louis Veuillot, and Chiarini, Abbé Louis A., *Théorie du judaisme* (Paris 1830); *Idem, Le Talmud de Babylonie* (Leipzig 1831).

[89] *Le Travail Affranchi* (February 4, 1849) 5.

[90] *Archives Israélites* (1864) 804.

[91] Czynski, *op. cit.,* p. 130, 136, 155.

[92] *Le Populaire de 1841* (August 16, 1845, supplément; September 27, 1846, p. 4).

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and Rothschild reprinted from the *Biographie Universelle* with a brief introduction attacking the Jews much more than the Saint-Simonians. There are many analogies, asserted the author, between Saint-Simonism and Judaism; indeed, Saint-Simonism had disintegrated and most of its followers had returned to their original group, the Jewish sect.[93]

Toussenel set the pattern subsequently followed by all French antisemites. His charges were repeated in the 1850s by the historian, M. Capéfigue, who contended that the Jews and the Saint-Simonians had one trait in common, namely, that the Saint-Simonians make speculation more colorful and attractive by adding to it some romantic glamor.[94] The influence of Fourier and Toussenel during the 1860s was reflected in the writings of Gougenot de Mousseau.[95]

At a later date Toussenel's arguments were repeated by Edouard Drumont, whose writings have overshadowed those of all his forerunners. Discussing the Jewish influence on Saint-Simonism, Drumont asserted that it was merely an attempt on the part of the Jews to extricate themselves from their moral ghetto; since the Jews refused to adopt Christianity, they found it necessary to create the Saint-Simonist religion.[96] Israel Schapira was unquestionably right in stating that Toussenel was the "immediate forerunner" and master of Drumont.[97] The latter hailed Toussenel as the harbinger of antisemitism [98] and his book as a great work of lasting value.[99] Jules Guérin, one of Drumont's associates, likewise asserted that Toussenel's book "was the first anti-Jewish work that drew the attention of the public to the Jews and to their role in the past and present;" Drumont simply copied Toussenel.[100] When the struggle raging around the Dreyfus affair was nearing its climax, the foes of Dreyfus, at the instance of the antisemitic leader, Grandmaison, honored Toussenel's

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[93] Michaud and Villenave, *op. cit.*

[94] Capéfigue, M. (I.B.H.), *Histoire des grandes opérations financières* (Paris 1855-1860) vol. iv, p. 132-33.

[95] Mousseau, Gougenot de, *Le Juif et judaisme et la judaisation des peuples chrétiens* (Paris 1863) p. 181. Drumont published the second edition of this book.

[96] Drumont, Edouard, *La France juive* (Paris 1886) vol. i, p. 350-51.

[97] Schapira, *op. cit.*, p. 32-33.

[98] Drumont, E., "Toussenel," in his *Les Héros et les pitres* (Paris [1901]) p. 267.

[99] *Idem, La France juive,* vol. i, p. 346.

[100] Guérin, *Les Trafiquants de l'antisémitisme,* p. 265; Yvert, Le Comte (G.I.E.), *Les Juifs et la propiété* (Paris 1884); 2nd edition, 1901, p. 14-15; Drumont, E., *La France juive devant l'opinion* (Paris 1886) p. 15, 71.

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memory by erecting a monument in his native village of Montreuil-Bellay.[101]

It is, moreover, noteworthy that certain socialists endorsed Toussenel's antisemitism. The socialist Auguste Chirac, of whom we shall speak later, used as the motto for his antisemitic pamphlet an excerpt from Toussenel's book.[102] The editors of the *Revue Socialiste* wrote in an obituary of Toussenel that his book "is a valuable work that ought to be reprinted."[102a]

In 1886 Benoit Malon, a prominent socialist (1814-93), asserted, in connection with Drumont's *La France Juive,* that there is in general no antisemitism in France; Toussenel's "excellent work" is, in Malon's opinion, simply an anti-capitalist pamphlet, without any anti-Jewish tinge. In fact, the first antisemitic daily in France, *L'antisemitique* (1881), was for Malon just another anti-capitalist organ.[103] Malon's remarks, however, are comparable to those found occasionally even in Jewish apologetic writings, which regarded Toussenel's attacks on the Jews as no more than a form of "protest and resistance against the Jewish bankers."[104] The naivete of such a view is obvious to any open-minded reader of Toussenel.

V

Toussenel's book paved the way for a new series of anti-Jewish writings.[105] As was noted above, through the Péreire brothers, Rothschild became interested in the Saint-Simonist plan of building railroads. However, he never associated himself with the Saint-Simonist ideology but simply invested in new and profitable enterprises. On July 8, 1846 there occurred on Rothschild's northern railroad (Chemin de Fer du Nord) a catastrophe that resulted in a number of casualties; the public was incensed. The man in the street had regarded the railroads even before the catastrophe with considerable distrust and apprehension. To some respectable statesmen the railroads seemed to be either a plaything or an

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[101] Drumont, *Les Héros et les pitres,* p. 273.

[102] Chirac, Auguste, *Les Rois de la République. Histoires des juiveries* (Paris 1886) 2 vols.

[102a] *La Revue Socialiste* (1885), no. vi, p. 478-79.

[103] Malon, "La Question juive," in *La Revue Socialiste* (June 1886) p. 506.

[104] Levaillant, M. I., *La Genèse de l'antisémitisme sous la Troisième République* (Paris 1907).

[105] *Guerre aux fripons* (Paris 1845 (cf. "Satan," *Histoire édifiante,* p. 17); *Les Juifs rois de l'Europe* (cf. Mirecourt, *E. de Rothschild* [Paris 1856] p. 65); *Les Juifs rois de l'Espagne* (cf. *Archives Israélites* [1857] p. 317); R. B. de L., *Law et les chemins de fer . . . pour servir à l'instruction des agioteurs de la bourse en 1845* (Paris 1845).

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unduly complicated invention. Adolphe Thiers advocated the building of a railroad so that the Parisians would have something to play with, but he was quite sure that this toy would be of little use to the population of the capital.[106] A distinguished scholar like Dominique-Francois Arago could argue that the moment the train entered a tunnel the passengers were bound to suffocate.[107] It goes without saying that the socialists bitterly attacked the railroad company. "Money is all that matters here," wrote Cabet after the railroad catastrophe, "human life is of no importance."[108] In addition the crop failed in 1846 and there was a widespread fear of hunger. Rothschild imported a large transport of corn and organized the free distribution of bread among the poor. However, the effects of his philanthropy proved to be the very opposite of what he had expected. People started whispering that Rothschild had stored up huge reserves of corn for speculation and that his bread was poisoned.[109]

Toussenel's book had already broken the ground and there began to appear various leaflets scolding the railroads owners, the Jews and Rothschild I, their King. Most of these were written by a journalist, Mathieu (Georges Marie) Dairnvaell, who signed his first pamphlets "Satan."[110] The anti-Rothschild pamphleteers concocted a story about a lawsuit against the author of the first pamphlet to attack the Jewish banker and even published a series of faked "reports" regarding this lawsuit.[111] There appeared also some pro-Rothschild pamphlets, which had a certain effect

[106] Clapham, J. H., *The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914* (Cambridge 1928) p. 144.

[107] Levasseur, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 108.

[108] *Le Populaire de 1841* (July 26 and August 28, 1846).

[109] Schwab, M., "Vie, oeuvres et obsèques du Baron James de Rothschild," in *Archives Israélites*, vol. xxix (1868) 1083.

[110] Other pamphlets by the same author: *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild Ier, roi des Juifs, suivie du récit de la catastrophe du 8 juillet, par un témoin oculaire* (Paris 1846) 15 editions; German translation: *Erbauliche und seltsame Historia von Rothschild I König der Juden*, von Satan (Berlin 1846); *Rothschild Ier, ses valets et son peuple . . .* (Paris 1845) 5 editions; *Guerre aux fripons, chronique sécrète de la bourse et des chemins de fer . . .* (Paris 1846) 4 editions; *Histoire de Rothschild Ier, roi des Juifs* (Paris 1846), of which only the preface was published.

[111] *Grand procès entre Rothschild Ier, roi des Juifs et Satan* . . . (Paris 1846) ; *Jugement rendu contre J. Rothschild et contre Georges Dainwaell* . . . (Paris 1846) ; other anti-Jewish pamphlets: *Tu dors Rothschild, et tes actions baissent!* . . . (Paris 1846); St.-Paul Robert, *La Vérité sur la maison Rothschild* (Paris 1846); *Premier traitment désopilatif . . . traduit de l'hébreu . . . Guérison radicale de l'épidémie des actions de chemins de fer* . . . (Paris 1846); Mesnard, Jean Baptiste, *Dix jours de règne de Rothschild Ier* . . . (Paris 1846) ; *Les Entrennes à Rothschild, almanach des mille et un* (cf. Drumont, *La France juive*, vol. i, p. 354).

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on public opinion, in spite of the fact that they were rather poorly written.[112] Some of these pamphlets came, allegedly, from the pen of C. L. Marle, author of several good textbooks and the publisher of the paper, *La Constitution* (February 28-August 11, 1849). Several of Marle's textbooks were produced in collaboration with a Jewish educator, David E. Levi Alvarez.[113]

At first it was generally assumed that the author of the anti-Rothschild pamphlet, published in 1846, was the noted Jewish journalist, Alexandre Weill (1811-1898), undoubtedly one of the most colorful Jewish personalities in 19th-century France.[114] Writer of prose and verse, philosopher, linguist, a politician and historian, the prolific Weill achieved prominence in none of these fields.[115] Much of what he has written is worthless or even silly, and yet there was something attractive about him. For a time Weill was in vogue; the newsboys used to shout the titles of his articles. He was often very sincere and always a real Puritan. Weill was perhaps the only French writer of his time who believed that a married man should not have mistresses. He idolized Victor Hugo and it was his devotion to the novelist that accounts to a large extent for Hugo's friendly attitude toward the Jews but Weill could not forgive the great poet for having a mistress and severely criticised his immoral life.

Weill was after a fashion attached to Jewish tradition but, if one may

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[112] *Réponse de Rothschild Ier, roi des Juifs, à Satain, rois des imposteurs* (Paris 1846.) Another edition (Brussels 1846) is signed by Frissard; *Erwiderung Rothschilds I, Königs der Juden, auf das von "Satan" an ihn gerichtete Pamphlet, nach dam französischen* (Berlin 1847); M. P. de R. . . ., *Nouvelle réponse du prince des Israélites, Rothschild Ier, à un pamphlétaire . . .* (Paris 1846); *Première réponse officielle de M. la Baron James de Rothschild . . .* (Brussels 1846). The publisher promised another pamphlet: *Que nous veut-on avec ce Rothschild Ier, par un Banquier;* A. D. . ., avocat, *Guerre aux Juifs . . .* (Paris 1846); cf. *Archives Israélites* 1846), 638-40; Goudchaux, Eugène, *Un Juif au peuple français . . . Deuxième partie: à M. Georges Dainwael* (Paris 1846); *Importantes révélations sur la lutte engagée par les Jésuites contre les Juifs, par un farfadet humanitaire* (Paris 1846).

[113] *Catalogue général des livres imprimés,* vol. cvii, p. 147-150.

[114] Bloch, M., *Alexandre Weill, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris 1905); Dreyfus, R., *A. Weill, ou le prophète du Faubourg St. Honoré* (Paris 1908, *Cahiers de la Quinzaine,* série ix, cahier 9); Berret, Paul, "Alexandre Weill et Victor Hugo," in *Revue juive de Genève,* vol. ii (1933-34) no. iv, p. 150-55, no. v, p. 195-98; Saurat, Denis, "A. Weill et Balzac," in *Revue juive de Genève,* vol. i, no. vi, p. 256-61; Cahen, Isidore, "Alexandre Weill," in *Archives Israélites* (1899) p. 133-35; Praag, Siegfried van, "Alexandre Weill," in *Der Jude* (Berlin 1923) p. 681-91; Dresch, I., "Une correspondance de Karl Gutzkow, de Mme d'Agoult et d'Alexandre Weill," in *Revue Germanique* vol. ii (1906) 93-95; Kahn, Sylvain, "La Vie d'un juif d'Alsace," in *Menorah* (Paris 1925) 59-60.

[115] British Museum, *Catalogue of printed books,* vol. lxxxvi, p. 223-25; *Supplement,* p. 350-51.

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believe the Catholic leader and antisemite, Louis Veuillot, in 1849 he proposed to embrace the Christian faith.[116] Perhaps, this was, however, but one of his whims, or perhaps a trick he played on Veuillot. At the time when he was supposedly contemplating conversion, Weill violently attacked the Catholic Church; at a later date he wrote in a poem that of all the plagues of the world the greatest calamity for the Jews proved to be the so-called Christian God of love.[117] He accepted the Bible but denounced the Talmud.[118]

Full of contradictions, oscillating constantly between various moods and philosophical and political doctrines, Weill was for a time one of the most popular Fourierist journalists; he used to set the tone of political journalism and of creative writing in various Fourierist publications. It was undoubtedly Weill whom the editors of the *Archives Israélites* (1846, p. 496) had in mind when they ruefully observed that although *La Démocratie Pacifique* featured Toussenel's vicious attacks upon the Jews, some of its contributors are Jewish. When Balzac published an article against the socialists in the *Corsaire-Satan* (1847), the editor of *La Démocratie Pacifique* commissioned Weill to reply to this famous writer. Weill, who had previously contributed to the *Corsaire-Satan,* violently attacked Balzac and set the tone of all the subsequent polemics.[119] The versatile Jewish Fourierist never liked Balzac who, as Weill stated, used to wind up his discussion of every social problem with an apology for Catholicism.[120] At the same time Weill was closely associated with the Saint-Simonians, contributed to Leroux's *Revue Indépendente,* admired Saint-Simon as an historian and even tried to imitate his stye.[121]

Veuillot who did not take too seriously Weill's alleged intention of becoming a Christian, wrote: "Essentially he is a Christian, but as to the form he is thoroughly confused: he was already in, and then out and then in again; he left once more and once more returned."[122] Karl Gutzkow

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[116] Veuillot, L., *D'après Nature. Oeuvres complètes* (Paris 1929) 1st series, vol. x, p. 475.

[117] Weill, A., *Agathina, ma femme* (Paris 1879) p. 98.

[118] *Idem, Les Livres de Dieu, Moise et le Talmud* (Paris 1864); cf. Bloch, S., in *Univers Israélite,* vol. xx (1864-65) 33-38; Rabbinowicz, M., in *Archives Israélites,* vol, xxvi (1865) 214-17, 258-63.

[119] Hunt, H. J., *Le Socialisme et le Romantisme en France* (Oxford 1935) p. 214-15, 172.

[120] Weill, A., *Introduction à mes mémoires* (Paris 1890) p. 145.

[121] *Ibid.,* p. 14, 16; Berret, *op. cit.,* p. 150-51.

[122] Veuillot, *op. cit.,* p. 475.

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characterized Weill thus: "Depending on his mood he is a German or a Frenchman, a follower of Pierre Leroux or his foe. He has thousands of ideas that evaporate even before he has a chance to express them."[123] Weill often attacked the Jewish Consistory and the Rothschilds; the non-Jews made good use of his jibes at the Jewish bankers. Two years before the railroad catastrophe (1844) there appeared in Stuttgart a pamphlet by Weill, castigating in violent terms the financial despotism and the oligarchy of the Rothschilds.[124] In Germany it was in general easier for a Jew to criticize a Jewish millionaire. There one could afford the luxury of poking fun at the *Univers Israélite* for calling the Rothschilds "the royal family."[125] Jewish communal life in Germany did not depend on the Jewish bankers, whereas in France the Jewish community was small and poor and the influence of the Rothschilds was strong enough to block any outspoken criticism of their activities. Thus it seemed natural to assume that the anti-Rothschild pamphlets of 1846 were written by Weill. However, in a letter to the *Archives Israélites* (1846, p. 536) Weill, avowing that he had attacked the Rothschilds and would continue to do so, emphatically denied any association with the anti-Jewish pamphlet; its author, according to Weill, was Georges Dairnvaell.

The first reaction in Jewish circles to the antisemitic pamphlets was not particularly strong. Samuel Cohen, editor of the *Archives Israélites*, the organ of the reformed Jews, answered the attack on Rothschild in *La Réforme*.[126] He abstained, however, from criticizing sharply the first edition of Toussenel's book (1845); Cohen's article on Toussenel in the *Archives Israélites* was mild and evasive. Toussenel exaggerates quite a bit, he writes, in his views on the role of commerce, but his book contains some excellent passages, which are at times vitiated by a rich imagination but almost invariably bear the imprint of honesty and intelligence.[127] Cohen obviously could not believe that the Fourierists had become antisemitic.

Eugène de Mirecourt, author of a popular series of biographies of

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[123] Gutzkow, Karl, *Werke*, vol. vii, p. 282.

[124] Weill, A., *Rothschild und die europäischen Staaten* (Stuttgart 1884).

[125] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1846) 688.

[126] *The Jewish Chronicle*, vol. ii (London 1945) no. ix, p. 77.

[127] R. (= S. Cohen), in *Archives Israélites*, vol. vi (1845) 753.

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famous men, relates, in a popular biography of the Rothschilds, that Salomon Rothschild remarked with reference to a pamphlet directed against him: "Only a Jew could have written this book."[128] The popular series of anti-Rothschild pamphlets, published in 1846, made a considerable stir even beyond the French borders.[129] The Vienna Rothschilds urged the Prussian government to suppress these pamphlets, which were being distributed in Germany too.[130] It is possible that the pamphleteers, of the anti-Rothschild as well as of the pro-Rothschild variety, were simply after the bankers' money, but Rothschild persisted in ignoring both groups.[131] In connection with pamphlet published after the railroad catastrophe, the *Archives Israélites* wrote that it was certainly very regrettable, but at the same time pointed out that at the first stage of a big enterprise, such as a railroad company, accidents are bound to occur.[132]

VI

Under the July monarchy, the Fourierists had led French socialism into the antisemitic camp. In the period of the Second Empire Proudhon and his friends played this role. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) never concealed his anti-Jewish feelings and gave vent to them on several occasions, while speaking about the revolution of 1848, about Poland, Napoleon III, the Saint-Simonians, etc.[133] Almost all the Jew-baiters of the more recent period have praised Proudhon highly.[134] Edmond

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[128] Mirecourt, Eugène de, *Rothschild* (Paris 1856) p. 65-66.

[129] *Archives Israélites* (1864) p. 644.

[130] Corti, Egon, *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Rothschild* (Leipzig 1927) vol. ii, p. 265-67.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

[132] B. L. (= G. Ben-Lévi), "M. de Rothschild et les pamphlétaires à 30 centimes," in *Archives Israélites* (1864) 561-66; *Idem*, "Les Chemins de fer et la tolérance religieuse," *loc. cit.* p. 421-24.

[133] Proudhon, P.-J., "Mélanges," in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol, xvii, p. 31; *idem*, *Résumé de la question sociale* (Paris 1848) p. 36; *idem*, *Si les traités ont cessé d'exister?* p. 9; *idem*, *Correspondance*, September 7, 1853; October 20, 1858; January 29 and December 14, 1862. Cf. the Nazi writer, Schulze, Willibald, "War Proudhon Anarchist?" in *Deutschlands Erneuerung* (January 1939) 14-21; cf. also Schapiro, J. S., "Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Harbinger of Fascism," in *American Historical Review* vol. l (1945) 714-37; Lazare, B., *op. cit.*, (1934), p. 66-67; Czynski, J., *op. cit.*, p. 155; Bernard, Louis, *L'Antisémitisme démasqué* (Paris 1894) p. 93, 156.

[134] Drumont, E., *La France juive*, vol. i, p. 366-67; *idem*, *La France juive devant l'opinion* p. 72; *idem*, "Proudhon et Karl Marx," in *Figures de bronze ou statues de neige*, p. 317-32; *idem*, in *La Grande Revue*, vol. liii (1909) 140; Maurras, Charles, in *Action Française* (August 13, 1910); *Dictionnaire politique et critique* (1933) vol. iv; Lambélin, Roger, *L'Impérialisme d'Israël* (Paris 1924) p. 29.

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Picard maintained that it was Proudhon, rather than Marx, who should have been considered the leader of international socialism; according to Picard, Marx achieved his status solely by means of Jewish intrigues and by the Jewish passion for self-aggrandizement.[135] In the office of the monarchist and antisemitic newspaper *Action Francaise,* the portrait of Proudhon was prominently displayed.[136]

Proudhon had all the qualities of the antisemite of his generation (1840-60). He was undoubtedly a sincere socialist and yet his political philosophy was full of contradictory reactionary ideas. It is enough to recall his pronouncements in favor of the Southern states during the American Civil War and his hostile attitude toward Poland's struggle for independence.[137] Proudhon fought bitterly against the Catholic Church. He was, consequently, also an avowed foe of Saint-Simonist mysticism. Even more revolting to Proudhon were the practical precepts of Saint-Simonism; herein lies, as a matter of fact, one of the main causes of Proudhon's antisemitism. Proudhon, however, never indulged in vicious Jew-baiting a la Toussenel, as Léon Daudet, the well-known antisemitic writer, has rightly pointed out.[138] Proudhon's slogan was "property is theft;" he consequently vigorously opposed the "feudal industrialism" of the Saint-Simonians, among whom a few Jews played so prominent a part. One of Proudhon's closest friends, George Duchêne (1824-76), nevertheless followed in Toussenel's footsteps. His writings, which contain some of the most violent attacks to be found in French antisemitic literature, were highly praised by the anti-Jewish socialists and by other antisemites.[139]

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[135] Picard, Edmond, in *La Grande Revue,* vol. liii (1909) 143.

[136] Bouglé, *La sociologie de Proudhon* (Paris 1911), viii; Schapiro, *loc. cit.*, p. 732.

[137] Proudhon, *La guerre et la paix* (Paris 1861) p. 179; *idem, Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d'exister?;* cf. Abensour, Léon, "P.-J. Proudhon et la Pologne," in *Grande Revue* vol. ciii (1920) 3-15.

[138] Daudet, Léon, *Flammes* (Paris 1930) p. 74.

[139] Duchêne, Georges, *L'Empire industriel . . .* (Paris 1869); *idem, La Spéculation devant les tribuneaux . . .* (Paris 1866); *idem, Etudes sur la féodalité financière* (Paris 1867). Other anti-Jewish books by non-socialists: Rupert, L[ouis], *L'Eglise et la Synagogue* (Paris-Tournai 1859); Crétineau-Joly, J.[A. M.], *Histoire du Sonderbund* (Paris 1850): *L'Eglise romaine avant la révolution* (Paris 1863); Kauffmann and Cherpin, *Histoire philosophique de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Lyon 1854).

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VII

The antisemites, socialists and anti-socialists, saw in Rothschild the personification of Jewry; the Jew was *ipso facto* a swindler and capitalist. *Figaro* wrote: "A Jew is one who can prove that 2 x 2 = 3."[140] Other papers (*Journal de Havre, Le Siècle*) maintained that in Paris non-Jews had an average income of 300 francs, and the average Jew 12,500 francs.[141] During the pogroms in Alsace (1848), after having settled their accounts with the Jews, the hoodlums started spreading a hoax that the rich gentiles were merely Jews in disguise; it was only then that the authorities took steps to suppress the riots.[142] The synagogue was looked upon as a nest of social corruption.[143]

Fourier, Toussenel, Proudhon, Duchène and other antisemitic socialists were undoubtedly devoted fighters for a better world and very often keen analysts of the situation of the French masses; they were unable, however, to overcome their anti-Jewish prejudice and to recognize that there were poor as well as prosperous Jews.[144] If the Socialist antisemites were blind to the existence of poor Jews, the Jewish socialists, who were more often than not assimilated, never tried to open their eyes to the reality. There was, however, one noteworthy exception, Armand Lévy, who headed the pro-Napoleon socialist faction. Lévy's keen interest in Jewish life was largely due to the influence of his Polish friend, Adam Mickiewicz.

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[140] *Figaro* (December 6, 1857); cf. *Archives Israélites,* vol. xix (1858) 35.

[141] *Archives Israélites,* vol. xviii (1857) 322.

[142] Ephraim, Armand, "La Question juive en 1848," in *La Gerbe* (supplément au no. 3 des *Archives Israélites* du 13 Février 1890) p. 32.

[143] *Archives Israélites,* vol. viii (1847) 32.

[144] Anchel, Robert, "Sur l'histoire des juifs en France," in *Cahiers Juifs* (1936) no. xix, p. 33, has depicted the Jews of this period as a farily prosperous group. There is, however, considerable evidence of a great degree of poverty; see Szajkowski, Z., "The Growth of the Jewish Population of France," in JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES, vol. viii (1946) 314-15; *Archives Israélites* (1840) 89-96; Reboul-Deneyrol, *Paupérisme dans le Bas-Rhin;* Boudin, M., in *Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris,* vol. i, (1860) 55; *Le Lien d'Israël,* vol. iii (1857) 139-46; Bloch, M., "L'Oeuvre scolaire des juifs français depuis 1789," in *Revue des études juives,* vol. xxvi; Szajowski in *Yidn in Frankreich* (New York 1942) vol. i, p. 210; *Extrait du registre des délibérations du Consistoire Israélite de la çirconscription de Strasbourg, 24 Octobre 1822;* Lévy, J., "Les Mendiants juifs en Alsace et en Lorraine," in *Le Lien d'Israël,* vol. iv (1858) 435-39; *Archives Israélites,* vol. i (1840) 315-17; Szajowski, "The Decline and Fall of Provençal Jewry," in JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES, vol. vi (1944) 45-47.

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VIII

In the first years of the Third Republic the most important antisemitic publications were those written by socialists. Albert Regnard, a prominent socialist, maintains that "the hatred of Semitism was widespread among the young revolutionaries at the end of the Second Empire, particularly among the Hébertists with whom Tridon was associated." The latter group, it is true, was opposed to Christianity as well but chiefly on the ground that it was "a product of Semitism." This was, incidentally, the language employed by the Hébertists in denouncing the capitalist system too.[145] G. Tridon, a member of the central committee of the Paris Commune, (1871), was the author of one of the most vicious antisemitic books ever published in French.[146] The nature of Tridon's antisemitism is revealed by the very title of his book, *Le Molochisme Juif.* The author sets out to prove that the Jews have always been savages; they have offered human sacrifices, etc. The Jews, he declares, are a black stain on civilization, the curse of mankind. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of the Aryan race to fight the Semitic spirit and ideology. Tridon's ideas were exploited by his friend, Regnard, who praised Tridon's book in *La Revue Socialiste.* Regnard published a study on the inequality of races, in which he not only expanded the theory of Gobineau and other pioneers of racism, but injected a strong antisemitic flavor; this study was reprinted in book form by a socialist publishing firm.[147] Gobineau's theory was regarded in France as purely academic speculation and Regnard was the first to apply it for the purpose of antisemitic agitation.

Auguste Chirac became the leader of French antisemitism during the early years of the Third Republic.[148] Chirac gained a reputation as a socialist economist as the author of a number of anti-Jewish pamphlets, full of violent invectives and abuse (reprinted from *La Revue Socialiste*).[149] Drumont said later that Chirac had espoused socialism in protest against

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[145] Regnard, A., in *Revue Socialiste* vol. v (1887) 499-500.

[146] Tridon, G., *Le Molochisme juif* (Brussels 1885); published posthumously.

[147] Regnard, Albert, *Aryens et Sémites. Le bilan du Judaisme et du Christianisme* (Paris 1890).

[148] Savine, Albert, "Auguste Chirac," in *Revue d'art dramatique,* vol. xviii (1903) 334-55.

[149] Chirac, Auguste, *Les Rois de la république. Histoire des Juiveries* (Paris 1883, 1887-89) 3 vols.; *idem, La Haute banque et les révolutions* (Paris 1876); *idem, L'Agiotage sous la Troisième République* (Paris 1888). Chirac promised another book: *Les Rois de la République, probita (épopée).*

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the Jewish bankers and declared that when the people will put the financiers on trial, Chirac would come forth as the prosecutor.[150] Malon, editor of *La Revue Socialiste,* wrote that after the time of Toussenel, Proudhon and Duchène, Chirac was the most vigorous opponent of big finance.[151] Malon, a member of the First International, an active participant in the Paris Commune and one of the most articulate and sincere champions of French socialism was not quite free from anti-Jewish bias;[152] it was Malon who, as editor of *La Revue Socialiste,* the theoretical organ of "integral" socialism, sponsored Chirac's journalistic activity.

In 1886, three years after Chirac's first book and one year after Tridon's pamphlet had been published, there appeared *La France Juive* by Edouard Drumont (1844-1917), a work destined to have a powerful effect on the development of French antisemitism. Without Drumont there would probably have been no Dreyfus affair; but whether this view can be borne out or not, Drumont's best-known forerunners in the field of antisemitic propaganda were socialists. The writings cited above were his principal sources; the motto of *La France Juive* is a quotation from the Fourierist Toussenel.

Drumont himself at times attempted to sound like a socialist; it goes without saying that his "socialism" was directed exclusively against Jewish capitalists. Some socialist circles accorded *La France Juive* a warm reception. Malon personally introduced Drumont to his friends in the labor movement who cordially welcomed the new antisemite with socialist leanings.[153] Tabaran, author of a series of popular socialist pamphlets and an avowed foe of Drumont, stated that the socialists had urged Drumont to join their movement.[154] It was not until antisemitism had joined hands with the "Boulangist" reaction (1889) that some socialist groups have become aware of the danger and started to fight against antisemitism.

It was a well-known fact that the "integral" faction of French socialism refused to participate in the campaign to exonerate Dreyfus. It is less known that some other socialists, such as Bakunin or the poet Clovis

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[150] Drumont, E., *La Fin d'un monde* (Paris 1889) p. 159-60.

[151] *Revue Socialiste,* vol. iii (1886) 192.

[152] Drumont, *La Fin d'un monde* p. 72, 81, 91, 122-130, 135; *idem,* "Bénoit Malon," in *Figures de bronzes ou statues de neige* (Paris 1901) p. 349-358.

[153] Drumont, *La Fin d'un monde,* p. 125.

[154] Tabarant, *Socialisme et antisémitisme* (Paris 1889).

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Hugues, had antisemtic leanings. These, however, are problems that call for separate study. It is perhaps no accident that the contemporary novelist, Louis Ferdinand Céline, author of several pornographic books attacking the Jews with a viciousness that surpasses even Streicher's, was in a position to use as mottoes for the chapters of his books excerpts from the writings of great pioneers of French Socialism, Fourier, Toussenel, Proudhon, Timon, Bakunin and others.[155]

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In quoting only the antisemitic pronouncements of the French socialists, before Edouard Drumont, the writer may be suspected of having ignored the pro-Jewish statements. In order to allay any such suspicion, the writer wishes therefore to say explicitly that his efforts to find sympathetic references to the Jews in the French socialist literature, from Saint-Simon to the date of Drumont's first appearance, have been futile. It is consequently doubtful whether any such statements were ever recorded.

[155] Céline, Louis-Ferdinand, *Bagatelles pour un massacre* (Paris 1928) p. 74, 80, 98, 191.

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CHAPTER 9

GERMANY

ALFRED HAVERKAMP

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS: LONG-TERM INTERACTIONS

From the late eleventh century, the former Kingdom of Eastern Francia, including its extensions east of a line marked by the Elbe and Saale, the Bohemian and Bavarian forests and the River Traun river, became known as the "Regnum teutonicum" or "teutonicorum" ("German Kingdom" or "Kingdom of the Germans"). For this entity, the Hebrew term "Ashkenaz," taken from the Torah (Gen. 10:3, cf. 1 Chron. 1:6, and Jer. 51:27), gained currency in Jewish writings from the second third of the twelfth century. It included the "Land (of) Lothir," which referred to the areas between Champagne and the Rhine. The Hebrew term was derived from the late-Carolingian kingdom of Lotharingia. The significance of "Lothir" in contemporary Jewish thought diminished after the persecutions of 1096 and was slowly reduced to a historical reminiscence.[1] The distance was widening between the Jews in Tzarfat (including Champagne), on the one hand, and those in Ashkenaz, on the other – i.e., between Jewish settlements in the Romance and Germanic linguistic spheres. New features emerged distinguishing the Jewries of Tzarfat from those of Ashkenaz.[2] Nonetheless, French continued to be used alongside the German vernacular in the *kehillot* on the western banks of the Rhine down to the thirteenth century. Other than in the Romance-speaking parts of Lotharingia, the German-speaking areas along the Rhine saw

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This chapter was translated from the German by Christoph Cluse, to whom I would like to extend my sincere thanks.

[1] On "Lothir," cf. *Germania Judaica*, vol. I: *Von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1238*, ed. I. Elbogen, A. Freimann, and H. Tykocinski (Tübingen, 1917–34; reprint 1963), xvii, 160–3; H. Gross, *Gallia Judaïca: Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques*, ed. S. Schwarzfuchs (Amsterdam, 1969), 293–305; and A. Grossman, *The Early Sages of Ashkenaz: Their Lives, Leadership and Works (900–1096)* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1988), 313–15.

[2] E. Kanarfogel, *The Intellectual History and Rabbinic Culture of Medieval Ashkenaz* (Detroit, 2013).

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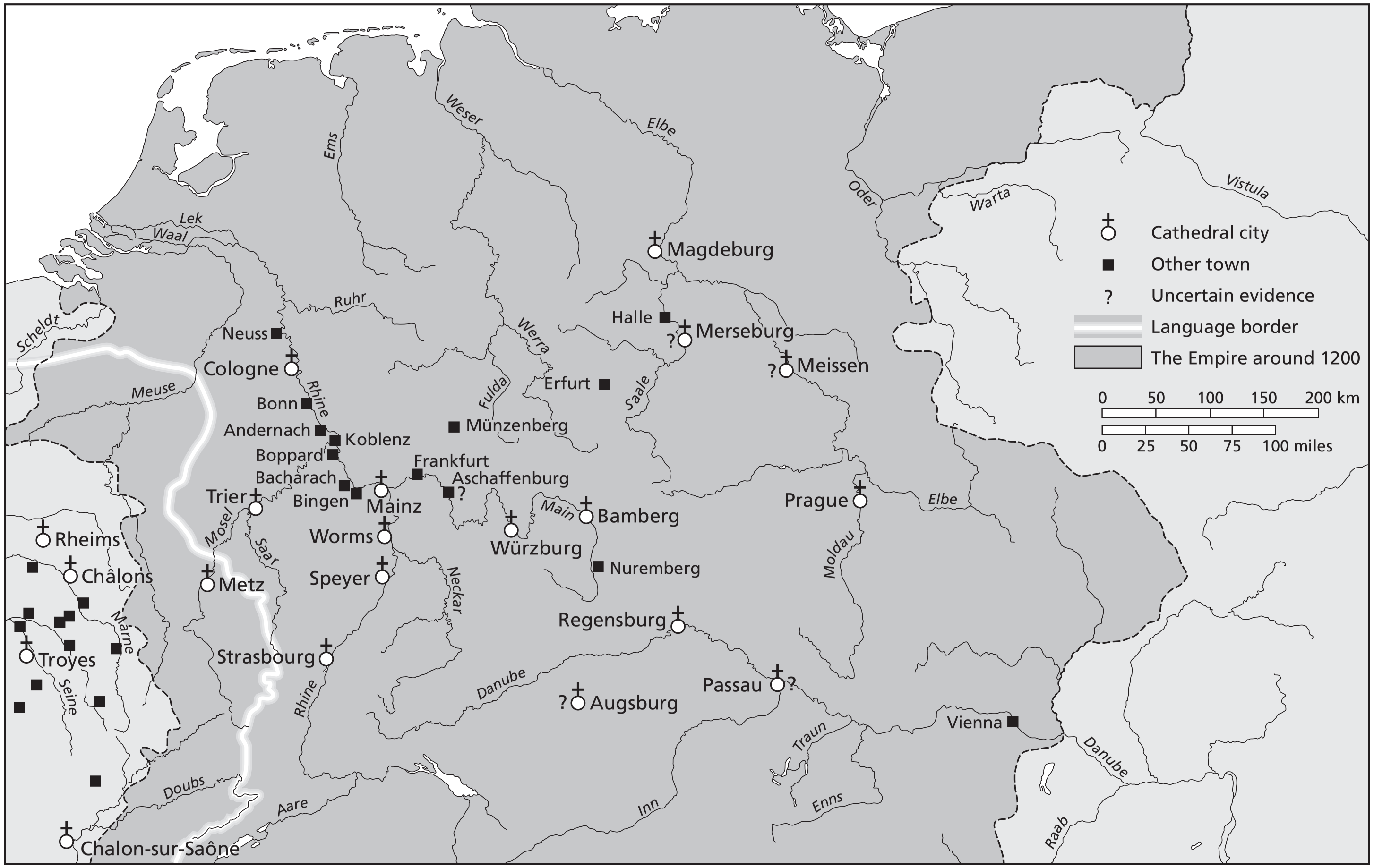
Cathedral city
Other town
?
Uncertain evidence
Language border
The Empire around 1200
0 50 100 150 200 km
0 25 50 75 100 miles
Vistula
Warta
Oder
Elbe
Weser
Ems
Lek
Waal
Ruhr
Scheldt
Meuse
Rhine
Werra
Fulda
Saale
Main
Mosel
Saar
Neckar
Marne
Seine
Danube
Doubs
Aare
Inn
Traun
Enns
Raab
Moldau
Magdeburg
Halle
Merseburg
Meissen
Neuss
Cologne
Bonn
Andernach
Koblenz
Boppard
Bacharach
Bingen
Mainz
Frankfurt
Aschaffenburg
Münzenberg
Erfurt
Trier
Worms
Speyer
Metz
Strasbourg
Würzburg
Bamberg
Nuremberg
Prague
Regensburg
Augsburg
Passau
Vienna
Rheims
Châlons
Troyes
Chalon-sur-Saône

Figure 9.1 Jewish settlements in the Regnum teutonicum around 1200[3]

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[3] The map largely rests on the documentation in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter von der Nordsee bis zu den Südalpen: Kommentiertes Kartenwerk*, ed. J. Müller, 3 vols. (Hanover, 2002) (for the areas of the German kingdom roughly west of the line Halberstadt–Bamberg–Nürnberg–Innsbruck between 1000 and 1520; cf. A. Peters, "'Settlement, Assimilation, Distinctive Identity': A Century of Historians and Historiography of Medieval German Jewry, 1902–2002," *Jewish Quarterly Review* (JQR) 97 (2007), 237–79). For the county of Champagne, see the maps in S. Benner and A. Reverchon, "Juden und Herrschaft: Die Champagne vom 11. bis frühen 14. Jahrhundert," in C. Cluse, A. Haverkamp, and I. J. Yuval, eds., *Jüdische Gemeinden und ihr christlicher Kontext in kulturräumlich vergleichender Betrachtung: von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 2003), 151–213, esp. 159, 165.

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an expansion of Jewish settlement from the twelfth century, and the "Jewish Rhinelands" gained importance, mainly through the three associated neighbors in the central Rhine area known to medieval Jews as *kehillot ShUM* (after the initials of "Shpira," "Warmaisa," and "Magenza").[4] At the same time, Jewish life also expanded eastward from this axis, see Figure 9.1.

The central Rhine was one of the few regions (others were Lower Franconia and Swabia) where the kings relied on royal possessions and rights partly inherited from Carolingian times. Despite such density zones of imperial and dynastic rule, the limited powers of the German kings were in extreme disproportion to the enormous extent of their realm. Their claim to authority had been significantly extended after 955 and found expression in the imperial coronation of 962. From that time, they tried to strengthen their position in the old areas of the Kingdom by closely cooperating with bishops, whom they increasingly endowed with domains and rights. The bishops' functions as religious office-holders and secular powers mutually reinforced and influenced one another. Hence the political role played by bishops was stronger here than in any other medieval Christian kingdom. From the late eleventh century, they were able to seize more and more independence from the kings. Numerous small-scale, or even local, units of governance were now gaining in importance. In this process, the kings/emperors began to lag behind, even in regions close to them. The Jews of Ashkenaz increasingly had to rely on support in their local and regional surroundings, more than in any other European kingdom.

Thus, bishops played an eminent role for Ashkenazic Jewry from its very beginnings – particularly in the economically important regions in the West. The roughly forty dioceses of the German Kingdom centered on the cathedral cities,[5] where religious, political, military, economic, and intellectual functions were concentrated and where, until the fourteenth century – and often much longer – urban life was most developed. Here, too, the earliest Christian town communes emerged from the late eleventh century, above all in the west of the German Kingdom. Civic communities created a new level in the structure of authority. Until the end of the medieval period, the cathedral city in

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[4] See, most recently, R. J. Barzen, "Die SchUM-Gemeinden und ihre Rechtssatzungen: Geschichte und Wirkungsgeschichte," in Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz, ed., *Die SchUM-Gemeinden Speyer–Worms–Mainz: Auf dem Weg zum Welterbe* (Regensburg, 2013), 23–35.

[5] F. G. Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge des Städtewesens in Mitteleuropa: Die Bischofssitze im Reich bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 2011–12).

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Western Ashkenaz was typically the home of the largest and most important Jewish community within a diocese. Increasingly from the beginning of the twelfth century, the Christian communities of these cities were the nearest and most important authorities for a Jewish community.

The supreme importance of these *kehillot* for Jewish life in large measure rested on the Jewish cemeteries situated near the cathedral cities. Here, Jews from surrounding settlements – originally, mainly those from within the diocese – were laid to rest. Other than the local synagogue, a cemetery – the "house of [eternal] life" (*beit ha-ḥayim*) or "house of eternity" (*beit ʿolam*) – provided a supra-local focus for the Jews' memories of their ancestors and the past of their community. Jews were bound by religious law to keep the cemetery as undisturbed as possible. This requirement provided a legal basis for the supremacy of the *kehillah* in the cathedral city over the Jewish settlements that emerged at a later date in the surrounding urban or proto-urban centers, and which were accordingly designated by other terms (*yishuv* and, in the more important cases, *ḥavurah*). Often the cemetery district also coincided with a regional unit of taxation.[6] The central functions of the *kahal* situated in the cathedral city gave rise to the term "Bishop of the Jews" (*episcopus iudeorum*), current only among Christians in Western Ashkenaz, as a title for the leader (*parnas*) of the *kahal*.[7]

The eastern lands remained "distant" from the Crown, except for those which, from the mid fourteenth century, became the heartlands of the Luxemburger and Habsburg royal houses after these dynasties had moved their centers to Bohemia and Austria. The secular power of the bishops, almost without exception, was much more circumscribed than in the West. Accordingly, the centers of baronial and noble rule were more important here for the emergence and status of Jewish communities.

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[6] R. Barzen, "Regionalorganisation jüdischer Gemeinden im Reich in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung auf der Grundlage der Ortslisten des Deutzer und des Nürnberger Memorbuches zur Pestverfolgung," in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*, I, 293–366; C. Cluse, "Zu den räumlichen Organisationsformen von Juden im christlichen Umfeld," in F. Irsigler, ed., *Zwischen Maas und Rhein: Beziehungen, Begegnungen und Konflikte in einem europäischen Kernraum von der Spätantike bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Bilanz* (Trier, 2006), 285–96; A. Haverkamp, "Jüdische Friedhöfe in Aschkenas" [2011], in A. Haverkamp, *Neue Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte (2000–2011)*, ed. C. Cluse and J. R. Müller (Hanover, 2012), 103–14.

[7] A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas' von Christen und Juden in Aschkenas im Mittelalter" [1996], in A. Haverkamp, *Gemeinden, Gemeinschaften und Kommunikationsformen im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. F. Burgard, L. Clemens, and M. Matheus (Trier, 2002), 328–32.

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THE NINTH TO LATE ELEVENTH CENTURIES

THE BEGINNINGS OF JEWISH PRESENCE

In late Antiquity, there had been Jews settling west of the Rhine and perhaps south of the Danube, i.e., on the periphery of the Roman Empire. A continuity of Jewish settlement beyond the fourth century cannot be substantiated and appears extremely unlikely, given the very unfavorable general conditions and the great distance from the nearest known settlements in the French Midi.[8] In the ninth century, itinerant Jewish merchants were active in what was to become the German Kingdom, but a first durable settlement cannot be observed until 890 CE in the important cathedral city of Metz, on the eastern periphery of Romania.[9] While Jews appear to have moved from the Midi into some towns and cities in northern France,[10] further evidence of fixed Jewish settlements in the German Kingdom, and for emerging communities, only appears after the defeat (in 955 CE) of the Hungarians, whose raids had even reached the areas west of the Rhine from around the turn of the tenth century.[11]

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[8] The only reliable source is a decree by Emperor Constantine of 321 CE, in which Cologne is explicitly mentioned; see A. Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit, 1987), 120–4, no. 7, and cf. 132–8, no. 9 of 330/1. Convincing archaeological evidence is lacking even for this major city. The hypothesis – repeated in S. Schütte and M. Gechter, *Von der Ausgrabung zum Museum: Kölner Archäologie zwischen Rathaus und Praetorium*, 2nd rev. edn. (Cologne, 2012) – that there was a continuity of Jewish settlement in Cologne from late Antiquity until 1349/1424, is rejected by M. Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2013), 295–8. See also O. Harck, *Archäologische Studien zum Judentum in der europäischen Antike und dem zentraleuropäischen Mittelalter* (Petersberg, 2014), who, despite some reservations, holds that Schütte's dating of the "synagogue findings" up to the fourth century are "still open to discussion" (242). This view does not take into account the essential preconditions for Jewish existence, nor does it reflect the criticism advanced by Toch.

[9] A. Linder, ed. and trans., *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit, 1997), 552–3, no. 873 (on 893 CE).

[10] The question is an open one and was debated, with interesting methodological implications, from 2001 by Michael Toch and the late Friedrich Lotter (Lotter, "Sind christliche Quellen zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden im Frühmittelalter weitgehend unbrauchbar?" *Historische Zeitschrift* 278 [2004], 311–27). See, most recently, Toch, *Economic History*.

[11] For this and what follows, see A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen zwischen Bischöfen und Juden im ottonisch-salischen Königreich bis 1090," in Anna A. Esposito, Heidrun Ochs, Elmar Rettinger, and Kai-Michael Sprenger, eds., *Trier–Mainz–Rom: Stationen, Wirkungsfelder, Netzwerke* (Regensburg, 2013), 45–87; A. Haverkamp, "The Beginnings of Jewish Life North of the Alps, with Comparative Glances at Northern and Central Italy (ca. 900–1100)," in A. M. Pult Quaglia and A. Veronese,

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The earliest datable written evidence of Jewish settlement (or at least of plans for such a move) comes from places on the eastern periphery of the Empire in Magdeburg on the Elbe (965) and Merseburg on the Saale (982). For the pre-Crusade Jewish settlements in Regensburg (981), Mainz (1012), Worms (1034), Cologne (1010/12 or 1040), Prague (*c.*1090), and Trier (1066, or at least long before 1096), we have only sporadic *ante quem* datings. By contrast, the sources on Jews settling, by 1084, in the close vicinity of the cathedral city of Speyer offer unique insights. The main lines of a *carta* given to these Jews by Bishop Rudiger Huozmann (d. 1090) accord with a foundation narrative written soon after 1104 "from the viewpoint of the Jews of Speyer, originally from Mainz," who had been closely involved in the drawn-out negotiations with the bishop and in the early settlement.[12] It appears that these Jews, who saw their existence threatened in their "home city" (עיר מולדתינו) by fierce fighting between the archbishop and leading local circles, put highest priority on the security of their lives and possessions in a fortified settlement near or in the walled cathedral city. Naturally, they were looking for economic safeguards, as well, especially in trade. They also obtained judicial competences for their community leader and the permanent grant of grounds for a cemetery, for this placed the new community on a par with the older *kehillot*.

Securing these conditions required the favor and reliability of a potent Christian partner. In the 1080s, Bishop Rudiger, a learned man with some expertise in canon law, closely allied to the Salian crown and undisputed in his city, met these requirements. Rudiger granted the Jews liberties (in part corresponding with the privileges given by Carolingian rulers to individual Jews and their families[13]) that touch on every aspect of Jewish life. They were epitomized in Bishop Rudiger's claim that he had granted the best law (*lex*) the Jewish people (*populus iudeorum*) could possibly have in any city of the German Kingdom, which implied his willingness to make further improvements. By means of the Jewish settlement, the bishop sought to increase "a thousandfold" the *honor* of his city, which was ranking far behind Mainz in urban development.

The earliest references to Jews in Magdeburg and Merseburg – places with royal palaces, but barely marked by urban life – suggest that a Jewish

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eds., *Diversi angoli di visuale: fra storia medievale e storia degli ebrei. In ricordo di Michele Luzzati* (Pisa, 2016), 85–102.

[12] The Latin charter is edited – not without faults – in A. Hilgard, ed., *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Stadt Speyer* (Strasbourg, 1885), 11–12, no. 11; for the Hebrew account, see E. Haverkamp, ed., *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (Hanover, 2005), 490–3 and 234 (quote), 262–3, 266–9.

[13] Linder, *Jews in the Legal Sources*, 333–8, nos. 572–3; 341, no. 576; 344–5, no. 580; see also A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen," 55, with n. 51.

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settlement was seen as a significant boost for the *honor* of a place. It was closely linked to the elevation of Magdeburg as the center of a new church province and to the establishment of a suffragan see in Merseburg (by 968, but planned since the defeat of the Hungarians in 955). The Jewish settlement in Regensburg was probably initiated a few years prior to its earliest attestation in 981. Other than the Jews in Magdeburg and Merseburg, those of Regensburg enjoyed a continuous history until their expulsion in 1519.

When we look for the model adopted in Magdeburg and Merseburg, then Metz and, especially, the metropolitan sees of Trier, Cologne, and Mainz come to mind – cities that, together with Regensburg, formed the group of leading urban centers in the Empire. After 955, the archbishops of Trier (Heinrich, d. 964) and Cologne (Brun, d. 965) initiated urban building schemes in the immediate vicinities of the areas later known as the Jewish quarters. These two archbishops were involved in a network that also included the monastery of St. Mauritius in Magdeburg, the first archbishop (Adalbert, d. 981) of that city, the second bishop of Merseburg (Giselher, d. 981), and Bishop Wolfgang (d. 994), under whose office the first Jews settled in Regensburg. Their network was inspired by the powerful monastic reform movement of the Abbey of St. Maximin in Trier. This group of reform clerics, who exerted a strong influence in the cathedral cities and also harbored close relationships with the Crown under Otto I, further included Archbishop William of Mainz (d. 968). They also had in common that they enhanced the religious, cultural, and economic significance of their cities by establishing new monasteries, canonries, and other churches, following the model of Rome. As Jews had been present in the "eternal city" from time immemorial, their settlement in the cities north of the Alps was in line with the idea of *imitatio Romae* (which implied the imitation of Jerusalem).[14] The learned protagonists on this stage were all distinguished by broad intellectual horizons and interests. They were interested in Greek (the second *lingua sacra* after Hebrew), and they would have viewed the Jews as "guardians of our written heritage" (*custodes librorum nostrorum*) following the Augustinian model.[15]

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[14] A. Haverkamp, "'Heilige Städte' im hohen Mittelalter" [1987], in A. Haverkamp, *Verfassung, Kultur, Lebensform: Beiträge zur italienischen, deutschen und jüdischen Geschichte im Mittelalter*, ed. F. Burgard, A. Heit, and M. Matheus (Mainz, 1997), 361–402; Hirschmann, *Anfänge*, III, 1040–76.

[15] B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten* (Paris, 1973), esp. 177–8. For the strong interest in Greek language and literature at court since Otto I's time, see Haverkamp, "Beziehungen," 72.

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Similar traits will later be found in Burchard of Worms (1000–25), the leading expert of his time in canon and other law, who included in his collection of decretals essential safeguards in favor of Jews. There is ample reason to assume that, in 1012, Burchard seized the opportunity to establish a lasting Jewish settlement in his city, after the Jews had been (temporarily) expelled from Mainz at the instigation of King Henry II, during a vacancy on the archiepiscopal see.[16] Lacking other suitable grounds within the narrow confines of the walled city, he accorded them an area in the northern part, close to the wall, which was still under construction. In this way, the houses inhabited by Jews became part of that wall, and the Jews of Worms were personally involved in the defense of their city. The only other known Jewish settlement in the eastern stretches of the Empire before *c.*1090, in the urban agglomeration of the Bohemian capital of Prague, has to be accounted to the dukes/kings of Bohemia.[17]

KEHILLOT: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND LEGAL FOUNDATIONS

Some early Jewish settlers in the German Kingdom came from the neighboring colonies in northern France, which until the tenth century were but few, recent, and small.[18] The majority hailed from southern Italy – mainly from Byzantine Apulia, where Jewish learning, favored by its Greek cultural setting, achieved its highest level in western Europe until the early twelfth century – and from the French Midi, where excellent centers of Jewish learning could equally be found. For Jews in these Mediterranean lands – who, like many of their Christian neighbors, suffered from continuing Muslim raids until far into the second half of the tenth century – the Empire north of the Alps gained attractiveness after the end of the Hungarian incursions. In Byzantine Italy, moreover, Jews had been targets of renewed persecution during the second quarter of the century.[19]

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[16] F. Lotter, "Die Vertreibung der Juden aus Mainz um 1012 und der antijüdische Traktat des Hofgeistlichen Heinrich," in F. Burgard, A. Haverkamp, and G. Mentgen, eds., *Judenvertreibungen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Hanover, 1999), 37–74.

[17] The conditions of settlement in the various cores of Prague's urban agglomeration improved at around the mid eleventh century; cf. A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen," 64. The identification of "Halle" in the Hebrew reports on 1096 is very problematic; see E. Haverkamp, ed., *Hebräische Berichte*, 42–3 n. 24, 482 with n. 1.

[18] The prevailing economic conditions in northern France were similar to those in the German Kingdom, while the political situation was different, particularly in the compact territories of the French Crown (*Ẓarfat*). The earliest reliable evidence of Jewish settlements in Champagne exists for the end of the ninth century; cf. Benner and Reverchon, "Juden," 154–61.

[19] Cf. A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen," 61.

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Jewish immigration was led by Jewish merchants, accompanied by their families and households, including Jewish servants as well as non-Jewish servants and slaves (a common feature in Christian and Jewish households of the Mediterranean). Due to the cultural divide between the South and the North, to the levels of literacy demanded by their religious life, and to their commercial experience, Jews in Ashkenaz (as in northern France and England), particularly during the first centuries of their presence, were better equipped for activities in trade and the monetary economy than were their new Christian neighbors. Christian rulers were ready to grant protection to Jews as a small religious minority, in return for exceedingly high tributes, which could rise further when more protection was needed. Neither the agrarian economy nor crafts offered realistic alternatives for the Jews.[20] Favored by their contacts with the Mediterranean world, where the tradition of medical science was more widespread, some acquired special expertise in the wider field of medicine.[21]

Within the cathedral cities, Jews tried to live as close to the synagogue as possible for halakhic reasons. Their quarters were situated near the markets as hubs of urban life, and/or near the cathedrals.[22] Daily contacts with Christians were inevitable in every respect. The social and legal make-up of the Jewish settlements was shaped by the lasting dominance of inter-familial relations, as was the case among the Christian town populace. However, the leading role of the Jewish family heads found a decisive support in their learning. The best-known example is provided by the Kalonymos family, who probably came to Mainz around the mid tenth century and whose name points to their origins in southern Italy. Extended families might defend their interests against unwanted Jewish newcomers by means of the ban of settlement (*ḥerem ha-yishuv*).[23] The established Jews also depended on their most important partners among the Christian ruling class to safeguard their peculiar position vis-à-vis the Christian majority. A prominent role was played by *tsedaḳah*, care for the poor.[24]

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[20] Cf. Michael Toch, "Economic Activities," Chapter 13 in this volume.

[21] The first record of a Jewish doctor in the German Kingdom only appears around 1130 – cf. below. However, the liberties granted by Henry IV in 1090 imply that the Jews of Speyer and Worms sold not only spices (*pigmenta*) but also medical substances (*antidota*) to Christian customers.

[22] The fortified settlement of Jews in Altspeyer before 1096 was an exception of short duration.

[23] A. Grossman, "La structure sociale du judaïsme allemand au Moyen Âge," in S. Trigano, ed., *La Société juive à travers l'histoire*, vol. I (Paris, 1992), 461–89, esp. 461–71.

[24] R. Barzen, "The Meaning of Tzedakah for Jewish Self-Organization within a Non-Jewish Environment," in G. Bacon, A. Baumgarten, Y. Barnai, H. Waxman, and I. Yuval, eds., *Iggud: Selected Essays in Jewish Studies*, vol. II (Jerusalem, 2009), 7–17.

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For the Jews in Ashkenaz, local self-government, rooted in the ritual community, was far more relevant than it was for neighboring Christians, or for Jews in the Mediterranean diaspora. In organizing their community, they not only adopted key elements from a rich Jewish tradition, they also created new rules based (though not dependent) on the authority of their leading scholars (who often proposed varying opinions). The new rules were more specifically suited to the conditions determined by the Christian surroundings and sometimes disagreed with formerly accepted rulings of the Babylonian academies. In cases such as the bans on polygamy and on divorce without a wife's consent, they contributed to a significant improvement of the legal position of women.[25] The core of the *kahal* in Ashkenaz from the tenth century lay in its function as a court of law closely related to the religious norms of life. In the *kahal*'s lasting form, high-medieval innovations gained more weight than Jewish tradition.[26]

These foundations of the Jewish community, shaped in accordance with Jewish law, were integrated into the guidelines, called *lex*, established in 1084 for the relations between Bishop Rudiger of Speyer and the local *kahal*, as well as between Jews and Christians in the city in general. There is good reason to assume that the other *kehillot* west of the Rhine and in Regensburg each had a similar *lex*, negotiated with the ruling bishops.[27]

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[25] I. G. Marcus, "A Jewish–Christian Symbiosis: The Culture of Early Ashkenaz," in David Biale, ed., *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (New York, 2002), 449–516, esp. 472–8; A. Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe*, trans. J. Chipman (Waltham, MA, 2004); Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 2004), 33, 37.

[26] For the continuing debate, see I. J. Yuval, "Heilige Städte, heilige Gemeinden – Mainz als das Jerusalem Deutschlands," in R. Jütte and A. P. Kustermann, eds., *Jüdische Gemeinden und Organisationsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna, 1996), 91–101; and G. J. Blidstein, "Individual and Community in the Middle Ages: 'Halakhic' Theory," in D. J. Elazar, ed., *Kinship and Consent: The Jewish Political Tradition in its Contempory Uses*, 2nd edn. (New Brunswick, 1997), 327–69. On the wider context, see A. Haverkamp, "Jüdische Gemeinden"; C. Cluse, "Jewish Community and Civic Commune in the High Middle Ages," in A. Gestrich, L. Raphael, and H. Uerlings, eds., *Strangers and Poor People: Changing Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion in Europe and the Mediterranean World from Classical Antiquity to the Present Day* (Frankfurt am Main, 2010), 165–91.

[27] On the written *lex*, see above. The fact that such documents have not been preserved except in Speyer is due to the fact that Jewish archival and library holdings had low chances of survival; cf. A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen," 48 n. 14, and A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung und die Überlieferung von Quellen zur Geschichte des aschkenasischen Judentums während des späten Mittelalters: Übersicht und Einsichten," in A. Haverkamp and J. R. Müller, eds., *Verschriftlichung und Quellenüberlieferung: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden und der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich (13./14. Jahrhundert)* (Peine, 2014), 1–64.

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Royal privileges in favor of Jews are rare. In 1090 Henry IV issued the first in a series of comprehensive charters for the Jewries of Speyer and Worms. In Speyer, the document was issued at the bequest of both the Jews and Bishop Rudiger. It repeats some of the clauses of the bishop's charter of 1084 and continues along the same lines: freedom of trade and from customs is extended from the city to the whole realm; market rules from talmudic law are included, as are other, generally accepted norms, such as the prohibition of forced baptism, and further specifications, all of which accorded with the interests of both Jews and bishop.[28] Soon after, these rulings were also issued in substantially the same form for the Jews of Worms. Here, however, the Jews were under the direct authority of the Emperor, as the bishop of Worms had lost his power in the city almost two decades earlier.[29] In this way, the bishop and Jews of Speyer together created an effective basic repertoire of community-related legal rights for the Jews in the urban surroundings of these two *ShUM* cities.

THE POGROMS OF 1096

Before 1096, significant anti-Jewish action is apparently only recorded for 1012 in Mainz.[30] Attitudes and behavioral patterns from northern France appear to have been at work in the persecutions raging between April and early July 1096, and formed a deep rift in the Jewish–Christian relations within the German Kingdom.[31] The pogroms were largely driven by "those signed with the cross"

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[28] Cf. above; Linder, *Jews in the Legal Sources*, 391–6, no. 609; F. Lotter, "Hostienfrevelvorwurf und Blutwunderfälschung bei den Judenverfolgungen von 1298 ('Rintfleisch') und 1336–1338 ('Armleder')," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. V (Hanover, 1988), 533–83; Y. Guggenheim, "*A suis paribus et non aliis iudicentur*: Jüdische Gerichtsbarkeit, ihre Kontrolle durch die christliche Herrschaft und die obersten rabi gemeiner Judenschafft im heiligen Reich," in Cluse *et al.*, eds., *Gemeinden*, 405–39.

[29] Linder, *Jews in the Legal Sources*, 396–400, no. 610.

[30] Cf. above, and n. 16. The reported endeavors by Archbishop Eberhard of Trier in 1066 to convert the local Jews by force, and his alleged murder, were a post-1096 "invention"; see E. Haverkamp, "'Persecutio' und 'Gezerah' in Trier während des Ersten Kreuzzugs," in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Sigmaringen, 1999), 35–71, esp. 47–8.

[31] On the following, see I. J. Yuval, "*Two Nations in Your Womb*": *Perceptions of Jews and Christians* [Hebrew], 3rd edn. (Tel Aviv, 2003; trans. into English: Berkeley, 2006; German: Göttingen, 2007; and French: Paris, 2012)], English edn., 135–97; E. Haverkamp, *Berichte*; E. Haverkamp, "What Did the Christians Know? Latin Reports on the Persecution of the Jews in 1096," *Crusades* 7 (2008), 59–86; E. Haverkamp, "Martyrs in Rivalry: The 1096 Jewish Martyrs and the Thebean Legion," *Jewish History* 23 (2009), 319–43; S. Shepkaru, "The Preaching of the First Crusade and the Persecutions of the Jews," *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), 93–135; R. Chazan, "'Let not a Remnant or Residue Escape': Millenarian Enthusiasm in the

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(*crucesignati*) heading for the Holy Land, a new movement which, in its social composition, motivations, and practices, was very diverse, and which also brought about "crusades" to other goals. The phenomenon was related to the rise of religious *Leitmotifs* concerning the incarnate Son of God (for whose crucifixion the Jews were held responsible) and the primeval Church, as well as to messianic movements (observable among both Christians and Jews). The situation had been aggravated by a lasting period of hunger, an increase in violent political conflicts, the crisis of authority involving the ruling powers, and the rise of new forms of self-government, especially in town communes.[32]

The Jews tried, successfully at first, to ward off the threat with payments of money. Some groups, mostly led by French and German nobles, bluntly aimed at wiping out the presence of Judaism by forcibly baptizing or killing all Jews – and at stealing their belongings. The reactions of the Christian town populace went all the way from supporting the Jews (as initially in Cologne) to taking an active part in the atrocities. The bishops in Speyer and Worms and the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier tried by various means to defend the Jews. Due in part to their weak political position, their efforts were mostly in vain – with the notable exception of Speyer. In Regensburg, the attackers had to make do with driving all Jews into some stream or the nearby River Danube and "baptizing" them summarily with the sign of the cross. The Jews of Prague quickly received support from the duke of Bohemia's troops and took part in the successful fight against their persecutors themselves. In other places, such as Mainz, in contrast, the Jews' efforts – individually or collectively – to take up arms against the aggressors proved futile.

Of those killed – around 3,000 – the large majority fell in the *kehillot* of Worms, Mainz, and Cologne. They included men and women of all ages who escaped forced baptism by sacrificing themselves for the "sanctification of the Divine Name" (*ḳidush ha-Shem*), or who were killed by fellow Jews (their parents, in the case of children) with that intention. The Hebrew documents on these events set up a literary monument to their deeds and sufferings. At the same time, they created a Jewish counter-narrative to the rising Christian cult of martyrs. Both traditions accorded women a prominent role. The precise numbers of those who died and of those who underwent forced baptism are impossible to estimate. Jewish and Christian authors alike confirm that the great majority of those

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First Crusade," *Speculum* 84 (2009), 289–313; H. Soloveitchik, "Halakhah, Hermeneutics, and Martyrdom in Medieval Ashkenaz," *JQR* 94 (2004), 77–108, 278–99; G. Mentgen, "Kiddusch ha-Schem – Selbstopferung als Glaubenszeugnis der Juden im Mittelalter," in W. Drews and H. Schlie, eds., *Zeugnis und Zeugenschaft: Perspektiven aus der Vormoderne* (Munich, 2011), 151–65.

[32] See E. Haverkamp, *Berichte*, 3–9.

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forcibly baptized soon resumed the practice of Judaism, with imperial permission and no significant obstacles.

Remembrance of the dead, veneration of the martyrs, and the memory of the first existential crisis for Jewish life in the German Kingdom were cultivated in families and communities, in *memor*-books, chronicles, and other literary writings. Accusations against murderous Christians and the plea to God for revenge were inextricably connected with these memories.[33] Despite the fact that "self-sacrifice" as an ideal of Jewish martyrdom continued to be controversial among Ashkenazic Jews, the cult of the martyrs strengthened the religious significance of the "holy community" (*kehillah ḳedoshah*), above all in the *ShUM* cities. This religious conception rivaled an older, Christian idea: that of the (cathedral) city as a "holy city," an image of Rome and – ultimately – Jerusalem.[34]

FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY UNTIL THE DISASTERS OF 1348–1350

THE GREATEST EXTENSION OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT

In the German Kingdom, the level of urbanization rose from less than 500 towns to *c.*3,500 between 1150 and 1350 CE, when the process reached a maximum unsurpassed, at least in qualitative terms, until the nineteenth century. During the same time, the number of accounted Jewish settlements rose from no more than 10 around 1096 to over 1,000 on the eve of the persecutions at the time of the "Black Death" (1348–50).[35] Many of these settlements consisted of no more than one or two Jewish families and were situated in "younger" towns or even rural settlements. The number of

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[33] Yuval, *Perceptions*, 135–9.

[34] See the seminal article by Yuval, "Heilige Städte." On the Christian conception of "holy city," which also found expression in the sacred topography of these urban centers from the tenth century, see above, n. 13.

[35] It is unclear to what extent the regional pogroms of 1336–8 had already brought an end to the Jewish settlements they affected. On what follows, see *Germania Judaica II: Von 1238 bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Z. Avneri, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1968); *Germania Judaica III: 1350–1519 (vol. I: Ortschaftsartikel Aach–Lychen*, ed. A. Maimon in collaboration with Y. Guggenheim; vol. II: *Ortschaftsartikel Mährisch-Budweis–Zwolle*, ed. A. Maimon, M. Breuer, and Y. Guggenheim; vol. III: *Gebietsartikel, Einleitungsartikel und Indices*, ed. A. Maimon, M. Breuer, and Y. Guggenheim) (Tübingen, 1987–2003); the regional studies in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, I, 33–186, 379–89, with maps series A and map F 6 in vol. III; also J. R. Müller, "Judenverfolgungen und -vertreibungen zwischen Nordsee und Südalpen im hohen und späten Mittelalter," in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, I, 189–91; and E. Brugger, "Von der Ansiedlung bis zur Vertreibung; Juden in Österreich," in E. Brugger, M. Keil, and A. Lichtblau, *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich* (Vienna, 2006), 123–227.

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Jews living in the kingdom reached a maximum in the early fourteenth century and then fell into a long decline, only to reach the same level again in the course of the nineteenth century.

With the exception of the one in Metz, the *kehillot* affected by the pogroms of the First Crusade recovered in the twelfth century. By 1200, Jews had also settled in cathedral cities east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, as well as in a number of younger urban centers in important trading sites. By this time, the number of places with a Jewish presence had doubled in relation to 1096. In the thirteenth century, the expansion gained pace. It was favored to some degree by the Crown, though not as much as by the imperial bishops and by the rising force of the nobility. The density of Jewish settlement was highest along the Rhine, in the lower Moselle valley and in the Staufen imperial lands (with many royal towns) on the lower River Main, and in Franconia and Swabia. In the emerging urban centers in the east of the German Kingdom (the areas of "new settlement"), Jewish colonists had been arriving since the turn of the thirteenth century, together with Christians from the West and christianized Slavs. Most of these Jews came from the west of the Empire, though some seem to have been from the western Slavonic lands.[36] Taking into consideration the sporadic nature of the documentation, the actual number of Jewish settlements in the German Kingdom is estimated at *c.*500 by the year 1300.

The steep rise was interrupted or disturbed by several local pogroms. With increasing frequency, the charge of ritual murder was raised against the Jews. The worst disruptions were brought about by the regional waves beginning in the later thirteenth century. A fateful signal was given by the persecutions triggered at Oberwesel in 1287 through a charge of ritual murder, later complemented by allegations of "Host desecration." The pogroms (and the veneration of "Good Werner," the alleged ritual murder victim) were supported by the Counts Palatinate of the Rhine.[37] Despite defensive efforts by the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, and King Rudolph, about twenty Jewish settlements were hit along the Moselle and Rhine rivers down to a few places north of Cologne. In Franconia, the region most densely settled by Jews at the time, the persecutions by "King Rintfleisch" in 1298 (later justified by allegations of Jewish "Host desecration" and also ritual murder) affected over 130 locations, disrupting or terminating the Jewish presence in many of them.[38]

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[36] Until 1300, the eastern lands of new settlement counted no more than about one dozen Jewish settlements.

[37] M. Schmandt, "Der Pfalzgraf, sein Pfarrer und der 'gute Werner.' Oder: Wie man zu Bacharach und Oberwesel ein antijüdisches Heiligtum erschuf (1287–1429)," *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte* 38 (2012), 7–38.

[38] Cf. A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, III, maps C 2.3 and C 4.3.

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Between 1300 and 1348, the number of Jewish settlements in the German Kingdom again doubled. West of the Rhine, the increase was most notable in Alsace and in the archbishopric of Trier. In the French-speaking county of Hainaut, the first Jews appeared in 1307, to settle in at least twenty places of mostly rural outlook. They obviously came from France. In the neighboring duchy of Brabant, in contrast, no such increase is recorded – probably due to a persecution by "crusaders" in 1309. The regions between the Rhine and Weser rivers, and in Thuringia between the Werra and Elster, likewise saw an increase far above average. In the margravate of Brandenburg, and possibly in the kingdom of Bohemia, this was at least five-fold. In contrast, a wave of persecution related to the "Armleder" riots, and inspired by Host-desecration and ritual-murder allegations, ravaged about sixty places in the western zones of dense Jewish settlement (northern Franconia, between Main and Lahn, in the central Rhine valley north of Mainz, on the lower Moselle, and in southern Alsace), between late July 1336 and the early summer of 1338. Starting in Pulkau in April 1338, around thirty, mostly smaller, Jewish settlements in Lower Austria, Bohemia, and southern Moravia were wiped out under allegations of "Host desecration," and the notable expansion of the Jewish presence in the Austrian regions was stopped short. Mostly in Lower Bavaria, about twenty settlements were hit by pogroms starting in Deggendorf in September 1338, again under the pretext of "Host desecration."[39] Despite these persecutions, the proliferation of Jewish settlements and growth of Jewish communities were significant. The indigenous population increase was complemented, mostly along the Rhine, by the arrival of Jews expelled from England and France. In this way, Ashkenazic Jewry, which had formerly held a peripheral position in northern Europe, now adopted a central role.

JEWS AND URBAN LIFE

The proliferation of Jewish settlements went hand in hand with a stronger focus on their urban habitats and their agrarian surroundings. Market mechanisms and monetary relations were increasingly affecting the agrarian economy. This was strongly felt in viticulture, which was extremely sensitive to market conditions and exposed to high risks from unpredictable weather conditions. Accordingly, the expansion of Jewish settlements

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[39] Lotter, "Hostienfrevelvorwurf"; Brugger, "Ansiedlung," 173–4, 211–19; Müller, "Judenverfolgungen," 208–12. On the "Armleder" riots, see A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, III, map C 4.4; on Pulkau and Deggendorf, cf. A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung," 20–33 (with map on 23).

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was most noticeable in regions characterized by viticulture: the central Rhine valley, Alsace, Franconia, and Swabia, as well as parts of Lower Austria and Moravia. New economic prospects for trade and for lending money to further segments of the Christian populace opened up, even for Jews with smaller resources in terms of capital and personal networks. In the western parts of the Empire, those Jews who lived in centers of communication were still active in trade, sometimes dealing in luxury items or in bullion, which was much in demand due to the rising mint outputs.[40] In the eastern areas of "new settlement," Jews traded in a wider array of goods, including agrarian produce and cattle. In all cases, the sale of moveables pawned to them formed a major part of this business. In the western regions of "old settlement," the Jewish share in trade, money changing, and minting was pushed back during the thirteenth century by Christian merchants organized in professional confraternities ("guilds") – or *Hausgenossenschaften* – of changers, who were gaining influence in the larger Christian municipalities.

Jewish activities in crafts mostly focused on meat and textiles, where *kashrut* regulations made them necessary. Economic relations with Christians resulting from these activities are frequently reflected in conflicts between Jewish and Christian butchers, many of which surface in documents from the eastern regions. The hides of animals could be used for leather or parchment production. In this context, pragmatic solutions based on mutual trust could be reached by Jews and Christians.[41]

The first Jewish physician attested in the German Kingdom was Josua, who had served the influential archbishop of Trier, Bruno (1102–24), before he converted (voluntarily, as it seems) to Christianity. In a Christian source he was praised for his chivalric lifestyle (*militaris habitus*) at the archbishop's court, and for his excellent knowledge of not only the human body but also the *computus*, Hebrew literature, and Jewish learning in general.[42] From the

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[40] G. Maier, *Wirtschaftliche Tätigkeitsfelder von Juden im Reichsgebiet (ca. 1273 bis 1350)* (Trier, 2010); on viticulture, see H. Soloveitchik, *Principles and Pressures: Jewish Trade in Gentile Wine in the Middle Ages* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 2003); Soloveitchik, "Can Halakhic Texts Talk History?" in Soloveitchik, *Collected Essays*, vol. I (Oxford, 2013), 169–223.

[41] See A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland und Italien während des späten Mittelalters: Bewegungen in kabbalistischen Zusammenhängen," in F. Backhaus, G. Engel, G. Grebner, and R. Liberles, eds., *Frühneuzeitliche Ghettos in Europa im Vergleich* (Berlin, 2012), 81–148, esp. 85–6, 93–4.

[42] A. Haverkamp, "Baptised Jews in German Lands during the Twelfth Century," in M. Signer and J. van Engen, eds., *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Notre Dame, IN, 2001), 255–310, esp. 265, 277–8. Cf. J. Shatzmiller, "Doctors and Medical Practices in Germany around the Year 1200: The Evidence of Sefer Asaph," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 50 (1983), 149–64; Shatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley, 1994). Regarding the enormous significance of the *computus*

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late thirteenth century, the evidence for Jewish doctors multiplies, first in the earliest surviving account books of noble rulers in the French-speaking west of the German Kingdom, and later in the serial documentation of towns along the Rhine. Despite frequent ecclesiastical prohibitions (e.g., in synods from 1277), Christian patients, including more and more townspeople, entrusted their physical well-being to these doctors.[43]

In the credit business, Jews held no monopoly. Many Christians, too, were providing for the fast-growing demand, despite the condemnations of "usury" voiced by ecclesiastics and members of the pastoral or mendicant orders, in the German Kingdom as elsewhere. Local, mostly urban, Christian money-lenders often gave out sums much higher than those advanced by leading Jewish bankers or consortia.[44] Compared with Christians, Jews depended much more heavily on support from the ruling powers, who were accordingly able to extort higher sums from them in return. In emergency situations such as the hunger years of 1343/4 in the Lake Constance region, some Jews were ready to advance credit at lower rates than Christian (male and female) "usurers."[45] There were large differences among Jews active in moneylending. Not a few were unable to make a living from the proceeds.[46] In the larger

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in Jewish–Christian relations, cf. C. P. E. Nothaft, *Medieval Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar* (Leiden, 2014); Nothaft and J. Isserles, "Calendars beyond Borders: Exchange of Calendrical Knowledge between Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe (12th–15th Century)," *Medieval Encounters* 20 (2014), 1–3.

[43] Jewish doctors also provided other services for regional lords, such as trade in valuables: Maier, *Tätigkeitsfelder*, 104–5; W. Treue, "Verehrt und angespien: Zur Geschichte jüdischer Ärzte in Aschkenas von den Anfängen bis zur Akademisierung," *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 21 (2002), 130–202, esp. 140–1.

[44] Their clients included leading ecclesiastics who ran up large debts with Italian merchant bankers to meet the financial demands of the papal Curia. On Jewish moneylending in general, see J. Shatzmiller, *Shylock Reconsidered: Jews, Moneylending, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley, 1990). For a closer focus on the German Kingdom, see F. Burgard, A. Haverkamp, F. Irsigler, and W. Reichert, eds., *Hochfinanz im Westen des Reichs 1150–1500* (Trier, 1996); A. Holtmann, *Juden in der Grafschaft Burgund im Mittelalter* (Hanover, 2003); C. Cluse, "Nachwort des Übersetzers," in J. Shatzmiller, *Shylock geht in Revision: Juden, Geldleihe und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter* (Trier, 2007), 239–56. From the middle of the thirteenth century, and mostly west of the Rhine, secular and ecclesiastical lords gave out expensive concessions to a rapidly rising number of "Lombards" or "Cahorsins." Cf. the two contributions by A. Holtmann and W. Reichert in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, 1, 267–92.

[45] As told by the Franciscan friar John of Winterthur – see D. Multrus, *Armuts- und Fremdheitsvorstelungen, Deutungshorizonte, Wirklichkeitsorientierungen und historische Hintergründe in der Chronik des franziskanischen Mönches Johannes von Winterthur* (Trier, 2011), 192–208.

[46] A list drawn up by order of the Prince Elector Baldwin of Trier in March 1338 yields exceptional insight into this variance. See O. Volk, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft am Mittelrhein vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 758–66.

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Jewish communities, some Jews earned all or part of their livelihood as service providers – the *shamash* (beadle), teachers and scribes, or servants in the Jewish hospice (*heqdesh*). Others may have worked as retailers or served as intermediaries for Jews or Christians. Christian servants and wet-nurses were employed in the households or businesses of wealthy Jews (slaves are no longer attested after the twelfth century).

This wide social spectrum is reflected in the Jewish alley or quarter.[47] Many settlements consisted of a single house, or just a few more. In the larger Jewish quarters, wealthy Jews, who usually played a leading role in their *kahal*, often owned more houses than the one they lived in and let them out or handed them over to relatives or other Jews, under conditions unknown today. Some also owned houses in other places where they conducted frequent business. In the major towns, Jews continued to live in central areas, mainly because of their early presence during the process of urban growth. Population increase among both Christians and Jews generally led to higher densities of buildings and people in the central town areas. In the Jewish alleys or quarters, this phenomenon was particularly strong. Here, in most towns, Jews and Christians still lived in close neighborhood, often wall-to-wall.[48] For reasons of religious law and, from the later thirteenth century, due to the experience of persecution, Jews endeavored to live closely together, and secure from Christian attackers.

In the German Kingdom, as elsewhere, many churchmen shared the view that Jews were useful, even indispensable, for key concerns of

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[47] On the following, see A. Haverkamp, "The Jewish Quarters in German Towns during the Middle Ages," in R. P. Hsia and H. Lehmann, eds., I*n and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish–Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (New York, 1995), 13–28; B. E. Klein, "Obrigkeitliche und innerjüdische Quellen: ein untrennbares Miteinander," in R. Kießling, P. Rauscher, S. Rohrbacher, and B. Staudinger, eds., *Räume und Wege: Jüdische Geschichte im Alten Reich (1300–1800)* (Berlin, 2007), 253–84; G. Mikosch, "Zeichen, Bilder, Codes – Prolegomena zu einer Semiotik jüdischer Räume in der mittelalterlichen Stadt," in S. Ehrich and J. Oberste, eds., *Städtische Räume im Mittelalter* (Regensburg, 2009), 35–47.

[48] On the legal dealings occasioned by these close conditions, cf. B. Mattes, *Jüdisches Alltagsleben in einer mittelalterlichen Stadt: Responsa des Rabbi Meir von Rothenburg* (Berlin, 2003), 219–86; B. Laqua, "Nähe und Distanz. Nachbarrechtliche Regelungen zwischen Christen und Juden (12.–14. Jahrhundert)," in S. Hirbodian, C. Jörg, S. Klapp, and J. R. Müller, eds., *Pro multis beneficiis. Festschrift für Friedhelm Burgard. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden und des Trierer Raums* (Trier, 2012), 73–92; Laqua, "Kooperation, Kommunikation, Übersetzung. Zur Anlage und Überlieferung des Judenschreinsbuches der Kölner Laurenz-Parochie," in A. Haverkamp and Müller, eds., *Verschriftlichung*, 147–71; C. Scholl, *Die Judengemeinde der Reichsstadt Ulm im späten Mittelalter: Innerjüdische Verhältnisse und christlich-jüdische Beziehungen in süddeutschen Zusammenhängen* (Hanover, 2012), 100–9.

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Christian traditions and belief. It seems, however, that this attitude was less pronounced here than in northern France, where leading scholars of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, in their search for the Jewish textual tradition (*Hebraica veritas*) of the Bible, co-operated with Jews.[49] Intellectual encounters between Jews and Christians are, however, clearly attested in the *ShUM* communities, and reflected in *Sefer Ḥasidim* [The Book of the Pious]. According to this main work of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz*, a sternly ascetic movement influenced (through the Kalonymos family tradition) by ancient mystical traditions of Judaism, it was not beyond imagination that some Jews read Christian texts in Latin, taught Hebrew to Christian priests, and negotiated with Christians concerning ways of jointly praying for rain. These close relationships are only recorded because the Hasidim were opposed to them (in the same way as they were opposed to Jewish men and women who failed to meet their elitist standards of piety).[50]

Unique insights into the shared practices of representation are offered by a Jewish family of bankers and scholars in Zurich around 1330, revealed in the design of their seals,[51] as well as of their festive hall.[52] Motifs of "profane" origin can also be found in slightly earlier Hebrew manuscript illuminations, the result of Jewish–Christian cooperation, from the Lake

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[49] On the "discovery" by a monk of the *Life of St. Matthias the Apostle*, who became the patron of an important monastery in Trier, in the library of a local Jew, who reportedly possessed manuscripts in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, see J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273* (Berlin, 1887–1902), 142–3, no. 316; R. M. Kloos, *Lambertus des Legia. De vita, translatione, inventione ac miraculis sancti Matthiae Apostoli libri quinque* (Trier, 1958), 79, 85, 180. For the wider context, cf. S. Haeberli, *Der jüdische Gelehrte im Mittelalter: christliche Imaginationen zwischen Idealisierung und Dämonisierung* (Ostfildern, 2010), 94–103 (on the concept of *Hebraica veritas*); and M. Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer zwischen Juden und Christen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2010), 117–36. On Christian "Adversus Judaeos" writings of a later period, see M. Niesner, "*Wer mit juden well disputiren*": *deutschsprachige Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2005).

[50] Marcus, "Symbiosis," 484–90; J. Maier, *Fremdes und Fremde in der jüdischen Tradition und im Sefär Chassidim* (Trier, 2002); T. Fishman, "Rhineland Pietist Approaches to Prayer and the Textualization of Rabbinic Culture in Medieval Northern Europe," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 11, 4 (2004), 313–31.

[51] The two adult sons of Minna owned a seal, as was typical for prominent Jews (including a number of Jewish widows) and leading Christian burgesses. Cf. S. Shalev-Eyni, *Jews among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (London, 2010), 88. On these and other Jewish seals, cf. A. Lehnertz, *Judensiegel in Aschkenas (1273–1347)*, (2014), www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen/judensiegel.html.

[52] J. Shatzmiller, *Cultural Exchange: Jews, Christians, and Art in the Medieval Marketplace* (Princeton, 2013), 61–72.

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Constance region.[53] In Strasbourg, where, according to the municipal laws of 1220, the Jews had to provide the great banner for the standard wagon (i.e., the representative center of the urban militia), a Jew of French origin named Sampson Pine worked together with two local citizens between 1331 and 1336, translating for them a French *Parzifal* romance. Sampson translated into German orally, while the two Christians rendered the text in verse (almost 40,000 lines). Non-Jewish vernacular literature was in favor among many Ashkenazic Jews, as long as its contents and motifs were not expressly religious.[54]

In the German Kingdom, moreover, the rare efforts by papal legates and others to enforce a distinctive garb on the Jews, in accord with the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, apparently proved fruitless.[55] Jews were allowed to bear arms in the same way as their Christian neighbors. They were also involved in the defense of their home towns.[56]

JEWISH COMMUNITIES

The differences among the Jewish *kehillot* were as many and as wide as among the Christian town communes. The synagogue and *mikveh* were indispensable for the religious infrastructure of any major Jewish settlement. Synagogue buildings with women's sections are first attested around 1200 in the larger *kehillot* of the cathedral cities.[57] For the Jewish

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[53] Shalev-Eyni, *Jews among Christians*.

[54] Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer*; see, further, the spectacular analysis of one of the stone slates found in the debris of the medieval synagogue of Cologne, by E. Timm, "Ein neu entdeckter literarischer Text in hebräischen Lettern aus der Zeit vor 1349," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 142 (2013), 417–43.

[55] Aronius, *Regesten*, 174–7, no. 395; F. Singermann, *Ueber Juden-Abzeichen: Ein Beitrag zur sozialen Geschichte des Judentums* (Berlin, 1915), 36–43; M. Keil, "Kulicht schmaltz und eisen gaffel – Alltag und Repräsentation bei Juden und Christen im Spätmittelalter," *Aschkenas* 14 (2004), 51–81.

[56] Thus, the Jews of Worms in 1201 defended their city and themselves from the roofs of their houses, even on a Sabbath. On these, as on other issues, Herbert Fischer, *Die verfassungsrechtliche Stellung der Juden in den deutschen Städten während des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1931; reprint Aalen, 1969), is a milestone in research (see esp. 188–92); cf. A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas,'" 333–7; A. Haverkamp, "'Kammerknechtschaft' und 'Bürgerstatus' der Juden diesseits und jenseits der Alpen während des späten Mittelalters," in M. Brenner and S. Ullmann, eds., *Die Juden in Schwaben* (Munich, 2013), 11–40, esp. 35–8. On bearing arms, see C. Magin, "'Waffenrecht' und 'Waffenverbot' für Juden im Mittelalter – zu einem Mythos der Forschungsgeschichte," *Aschkenas* 13 (2003), 17–33.

[57] Harck, *Studien*, 217–342. On this and the following, see maps B 1.1 – B. 5.1 in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, III; also M. Keil, "Orte der jüdischen Öffentlichkeit: Judenviertel, Synagoge, Friedhof," in E. Brugger and B. Wiedl, eds.,

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community, the synagogue represented a space of ritual, legal–judicial, and political centrality. In Cologne, cases brought against Jews by Christians (including clerics) over monetary claims were dealt with in the synagogue before a Jewish court, and then before the parochial court. In several towns and cities in southern Germany, cases between Jews and Christians were decided by a mixed jury. It convened in the synagogue courtyard and was presided over by two Christian judges nominated by the *kahal*.[58] Major communities also had a house for entertainments, dancing, weddings, etc. In some towns, a Jewish bathhouse is attested (in Augsburg around 1290 it was used by Jews and their Christian houshold servants). A prominent marker for the standing and self-esteem of larger *kehillot* was the Jewish hospice, found in almost all Jewish communities that also had a cemetery. Hospices provided for the local and, especially, the itinerant poor, for the sick, and for Jewish travelers. They served as a new institutional focus for Jewish poor relief (*tsedaḳah*). Many Jewish men and women bequeathed them large sums for the remembrance of their souls.[59] From the thirteenth century, the Jewish communities solidified their network of cemeteries, with additional burial grounds near cathedral cities, but increasingly also in the vicinity of younger urban centers.[60] Not only the cemetery "district" but other regional clusters of Jewish settlements too were treated by the Christian authorities as "lands" (*medinot*) from the early fourteenth century, in matters of taxation and beyond.[61]

The growing membership, functions, and importance of the *kehillot* not only called for better external safeguards but also required clearer rules for its internal relations. As in Christian town communes, this need was met by statutes (*takkanot*). Jewish communities thus acted as law-makers in many areas of Jewish law, but were also much more dependent on the widest possible consent from their members. Already in the eleventh

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Ein Thema – zwei Perspektiven. Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit (Innsbruck, 2007), 170–86.

[58] C. Cluse, "Stadt und Judengemeinde in Regensburg im späten Mittelalter: Das 'Judengericht' und sein Ende," in Cluse *et al.*, eds., *Gemeinden*, 365–86, esp. 365–70.

[59] I. J. Yuval, "Hospices and their Guests in Jewish Medieval Germany," in D. Assaf, ed., *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* vol. B I: *The History of the Jewish People* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1990), 125–9; Grossman, "Structure sociale," 477–8. The foundation of a Jewish leper house in the Mainz region around 1340 was bound up with expectations of high tax incomes on the part of the archbishop of Mainz and the Emperor; cf. F.-J. Ziwes, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittleren Rheingebiet während des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Hanover, 1995), 91–3.

[60] Above, nn. 11–12; A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, III, map F 4.

[61] Y. Guggenheim, "Jewish Community and Territorial Organisation in Medieval Europe," in C. Cluse, ed., *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries)* (Turnhout, 2004), 71–91; and cf. below.

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century, some *takkanot* were enacted by majority vote. As in Tzarfat, the community council (*tovei ha-ʿir*) played the decisive role in passing *takkanot* from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onward. The council was recruited from among the close-knit circles of halakhic scholars, the well-off, and the well-born. Some of the regular assemblies of leading scholars from the *ShUM* communities in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries drew up collections of *takkanot* to be applied in all three communities, and confirmed them in *c.*1220, 1223, *c.*1250, and 1381. They incorporated parts of northern French legal collections initiated, authorized, or spread by Rabeinu Tam (Jacob ben Meir, d. 1171), the grandson of the famous Rashi (R. Solomon ben Isaac, d. 1104). Together they formed a basis for a unique association of Jewish communities that existed alongside the league among the Christian communes of the three cities from the early thirteenth century. The Worms *kahal* used this legal means when it convened an assembly of all leading Jews from the "land of Worms" (*medinat Warmaisa*, a unit apparently modeled on the cemetery district of Worms) in 1307, to pass joint *takkanot* aimed at preventing anti-Jewish action from nobles, clerics, and townspeople following the recent expulsion of Jews from the French Crownlands. Exiles from France apparently had a direct impact on the continuous reception of French *takkanot* and other traditions in the Rhenish communities.[62]

The arrival of French Jews in Worms and Strasbourg did not proceed without conflict in these *kehillot*. Conflicts over shares in leadership and taxation were also rather common within Christian communities during the first half of the fourteenth century.[63] Jewish communities recently founded could face even greater problems. A typical example is provided by the trading town of Stendal, a key town in the margravate of Brandenburg, situated west of the River Elbe. Here, around 1270–5 CE, a number of Jews refused to contribute to the taxes of the Jewish community, claiming that they had reached a separate tax agreement with the margrave. As the *kahal* was unable to resolve this central issue, they turned to outside rabbinic authorities, including R. Meir of Rothenburg. As on similar occasions, R. Meir ruled in favor of the Jewish community, referring to the general legal norm that "all inhabitants of a city are shareholders in the city walls, the civic patrols, the guards of armor and gates, the gates, the common kitchen (for the poor), the almsbox, and all the institutions

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[62] R. Barzen, "Takkanot Kehillot Schum: Die Rechtssatzungen der jüdischen Gemeinden von Mainz, Worms und Speyer im hohen und späteren Mittelalter" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Trier, 2005), 362–5; Guggenheim, "Jewish Community," 82–4; Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1964).

[63] Cf. A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas,'" 342.

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they require, as well as in the taxes due to the lord of the city." While R. Meir adduced talmudic passages for aspects of his legal reasoning, his position was mainly based on the custom in all of the German Kingdom and the example of the *ShUM* communities.[64]

Often the Jews maintained their bonds with the noble and ecclesiastical – or, sometimes, royal – overlords of their towns, even in cases where the Christian town commune had effectively dissociated itself from such rule. In other cases, such ties were reactivated. These triangular relationships lay in the interest of the Jewish community, as the *kahal* and its members depended on efficient safeguards both inside and outside the town walls. They might also profit from the fact that both the town lord and the municipality were intent on limiting the burdens their respective competitor laid on the Jews. In times of imminent danger, the lords as well as the resident Jews were ready to make concessions (such as reducing the interest rate) toward the Christian community and populace.[65]

The proximity of *kahal* and municipality was fundamental, and explains the analogies in leadership structure. The "heads of the community" (*roshei ha-kahal*) became an institutionalized council in numerous Ashkenazic *kehillot* over the course of the thirteenth century.[66] Like the municipal council, the *juden rat* was the highest political and judicial authority. While it judged according to Jewish law, it depended on the support of the town lord and town commune when it came to enforcing punishment or tax against recalcitrant members. Effective diplomacy among Christians required the representatives of the *kahal* to receive additional legitimacy from Christian authorities. However, these authorities might use this requirement to interfere in the composition of the Jewish council or the acceptance of newcomers (*ḥerem ha-yishuv*).[67]

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[64] R. Meir ben Barukh, *Responsa*, ed. R. N. Rabinowitz (Jerusalem, 1986 [Lemberg, 1860]), no 108. I am grateful to Yacov Guggenheim for his edition and translation of the passage, based on MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ebr. 65, fols. 36v–37v, and MS Oxford, Neubauer 844, fol. 82. Cooperation between the Jewish and Christian communities was formalized in 1297 in an agreement between the margrave of Brandenburg and the town council of Stendal. The agreement was to become the model for the relations between Jews and Christians in the towns of the margravate: J. R. Christophersen, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in der Mark Brandenburg*, (2013), www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen/brandenburg.html (2013).

[65] A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung," 34–5, with the examples of Trier (May 1338, in connection with the "Armleder" pogroms, cf. above) and Vienna (June 1338, connected with the persecutions around Pulkau).

[66] Larger Jewish communities (as well as Christian communes in major cities) had councils of twelve, whereas smaller *kehillot* had fewer *parnasim*. New members of the Jewish council were co-opted by majority vote, and membership was for life.

[67] A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas'," 328–33; Cluse, "Jewish Community," 189–91.

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In most towns by the end of the thirteenth century, burgess law and citizen status provided the legal means for closely associating the Jews and their *kahal* with Christians and their community. Depending on the political status of the municipal community, citizenship was granted by the commune's representatives, at the behest of the lord or with his consent, under varying contractual conditions, to the local *kahal* as a whole, or to individual Jewish heads of household, permanently or for a fixed duration. For the Jews, the decisive implications of citizen status and its obligations toward the Christian community were the protection of religious practice, bodies, and possessions. This included public safeguards for retrieving loans, equal treatment in municipal law, and access to the local courts, but did not exclude the applicability of Jewish law and internal jurisdiction. Due to their religious alterity and autonomy, the Jews were neither allowed to take part in leading the exclusively Christian commune, nor in any way interested in such participation, as it effectively demanded that they give up their religion and leave the *kạhal*.[68]

PROXIMITY TO THE RULER AND "CHAMBER SERFDOM"

As before 1096, prominent Jews continued to maintain close relationships with the ecclesiastical or secular authorities. It was a natural result of the interconnections between town lords, municipal communities, and Jewish *kehillot*, but also of the specific functions individual Jews performed in the service of the ruler. During the first phase of Frederick Barbarossa's reign (1152–90), Kalonymos ben Meïr, a scion of the Kalonymos family and *parnas* in Speyer, held a position of confidence at the imperial court in connection with the Emperor's financial politics. Kalonymos was continuing the close relations of his family with the imperial court, expressed in the early-thirteenth-century legend of the arrival of their ancestors in Carolingian times. It is no coincidence that Emperors Frederick I and Henry VI showed favor to the Jews when they were acutely threatened by Crusaders in 1188.[69]

In later times, no Jews can be found in such functions at the courts of the "kings of the Romans" or Emperors. We do find them, however, in the service of ecclesiastical and secular rulers, despite the Church canons – reaffirmed at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and at later synods –

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[68] Nevertheless, some citizen registers until the mid fourteenth century list new Christian and Jewish burgesses together (Augsburg, Frankfurt am Main, Speyer); cf. A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas,'" 315–19, 338–43; A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Italien," 89–99.

[69] R. Chazan, "Emperor Fredrick I, the Crusade and the Jews," *Viator* 8 (1977), 83–93; A. Haverkamp, *Zwölftes Jahrhundert, 1125–1198* (Stuttgart, 2003; reprint 2005), 182–3.

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against employing Jews in positions of authority.[70] Most of the evidence for Jews in the crucial field of financial administration comes from the areas of "new settlement" in the East and Southeast. Employing Jews in this field remained highly attractive for lay and ecclesiastical rulers. Jews, after all, were not bound by the ecclesiastical restrictions on moneylending, and they were in a position of dependency and unable to use their offices for building up lordships of their own. They could quickly provide capital at reasonable costs, capitalize the income from tolls rented or pawned out to them, or manage the expenses of court and administration. All of these options were used in exemplary fashion by Archbishop and Prince-Elector Baldwin of Trier (1307–54). Baldwin laid the financial foundations of his policies, which concentrated on the archbishopric of Trier but extended far beyond, with the help of "his" Jews. However, he also rigorously used the Jews' growing need for protection in the wake of the "Armleder" riots to increase his hold on their bodies and possessions. In other respects, too, his demands were similar to those made on Christian serfs.[71]

With new emphases, the Prince Elector was pursuing a policy already explored some decades earlier by King Rudolph of Habsburg and by Baldwin's brother, Emperor Henry VII, and then significantly intensified both by the Wittelsbach Emperor Louis and by his rival, Baldwin's great-nephew Charles IV. The Christian advisors of these rulers exploited the broad concept of Jewish "chamber serfdom" to the extreme, adopting ideas from canon law and the Roman legal tradition. Ironically, they were drawing on a legal construct first formulated in the German Kingdom in 1236 by the chancery of Frederick II, precisely to express the basic affiliation of the Jews to the imperial crown – even an imperial monopoly over them – against the claims of the papacy. Frederick's program had been occasioned by persecution at the hands of Crusaders. For the first time in the German Kingdom, the attackers had brought forward formal charges of ritual murder. The Emperor combined warding off this threat toward Jewish existence with establishing a new legal principle: At the bequest of Ashkenazic Jewry, he extended to all Jews in the German Kingdom the charter of rights granted by his grandfather, Frederick I, to the Jews of Worms (1157, renewing those given them by Henry IV in 1090). As before, the Jews were associated with the imperial chamber (i.e., the core of

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[70] Aronius, *Regesten*, 175–6, no. 395; M. J. Wenninger, "Juden als Münzmeister, Zollpächter und fürstliche Finanzbeamte im mittelalterlichen Aschkenas," in M. Toch, ed., with E. Müller-Luckner, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden: Fragen und Einschätzungen* (Munich, 2008), 121–38.

[71] A. Haverkamp, "Erzbischof Balduin und die Juden" [1985], in A. Haverkamp, *Gemeinden*, 39–88.

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imperial rule), but this time they were also characterized as *servi.* In this way, the charter of 1236 not only adopted the "perpetual servitude" concept of popes and canonists, it also opened up new scope for interpretation in allowing the alignment of the legal position of Jews with that of unfree persons, even slaves.[72]

The favorable passages in the privilege of 1236 were adopted in later Jewry-laws by princes and kings in the eastern lands. Jewish emigrants to Italy used them from the late fourteenth century in their agreements (*condotte*) with the communes of upper and central Italy. Here, however, they were connected with civic status, while the ambiguous legal construction of "chamber serfdom" had never been used in the Patrimony of St. Peter or in "imperial" Italy. North of the Alps, by contrast, it became a commonplace in the chanceries of the kings and emperors. For the first time, King Rudolph I, in 1286, used it to justify his claims to the possessions of the "serfs of his chamber." His extreme demands implied severe limitations on the Jews' freedom of movement.[73]

With increasing frequency from the early fourteenth century, their extreme shortage of financial resources forced the German kings to pawn the taxes they claimed from Jews or even whole Jewish communities, sometimes along with the towns where they lived, to their allies. The Jews' safety nets were jeopardized, if not destroyed, by this policy. The legal claims the Crown made on the Jews were intensified, especially when the king proclaimed the cancellation of debts owed to Jewish creditors.[74] This practice stood in sharp contrast to the interests of numerous municipalities, barons, and other lords who held rights over the Jews. Not least, Louis the Bavarian's assertion that he could "do as he liked" with his Jews also ran against his own professed aim of looking for better means of protecting them (to which end he introduced a new poll tax on all adult male Jews in the Empire).[75] Nevertheless, Louis reportedly intervened

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[72] A. Haverkamp, "'Kammerknechtschaft,'" 14–19.

[73] Rudolph was aiming at the possessions of R. Meir of Rothenburg, who had recently moved to Worms, and of R. Meir's followers in the *ShUM* communities, in Oppenheim and the Wetterau region. Maybe moved by eschatological hopes, these Jews had left their homes a few months before without the king's consent, as Rudolph claimed. See G. Mentgen, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im Erzbistum Mainz (1274–1347)* (2015), www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen.html.

[74] For such measurers taken by Emperor Louis "the Bavarian," see A. Haverkamp, "'Kammerknechtschaft,'" 31–2; G. Mentgen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittelalterlichen Elsaß* (Hanover, 1995), 313–14.

[75] E. Isenmann, "Steuern und Abgaben," in *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2208–81, esp. 2225–6.

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against a ritual-murder charge raised in 1346 in his own residential town of Munich.[76]

FROM FAMILIARITY AND CONDITIONAL TOLERANCE TO PERSECUTION AND EXPULSION

Since the turn of the fourteenth century, the policies of the kings/emperors were driven to a large extent by their lack of resources. This had direct adverse consequences for the Jews in the lands close to the Crown, not least as it also influenced the policies of the lay or ecclesiastical princes and other authorities, especially in the western areas of "old settlement." Notwithstanding some similar incidents,[77] the relations of most barons and nobles toward the Jews in the eastern lands of "new settlement" do not show the same tendencies.

In the western parts, Jews suffered most extremely from the spread of local and (after 1287) regional pogroms. Many factors contributed to these convulsive events. The relative effects of the views expressed by theologians concerning the status of the Jews, the propaganda (mostly by mendicant friars) against the "Christ-killers," and the efforts by popes, papal legates, and local ecclesiastics to restrict Jewish life according to the demands of canon law are all difficult to estimate. An increase in such activity can be observed in the German Kingdom between the 1260s and 1280s. Charges of "usury" were still mostly aimed at Christians, not against Jews (in the German Kingdom, this situation was only reversed in the fifteenth century).[78] From 1275, new legal codes were spreading, which favored

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[76] *Germania Judaica II*, II, 557 n. 20.

[77] These included the extortions from Bohemian Jews by King Wenceslas II in 1298 and by King John of Luxemburg in 1336 (*Germania Judaica II*, I, 91). The latter expropriated the Jews of Prague in 1336 (*Germania Judaica II*, II, 659), and in 1345 allowed the town of Breslau (Wrocław) to mend the city walls with stones taken from the Jewish cemetery; see W. Cohn's article, "Breslau," now published posthumously in N. Conrads, "Die verlorene Germania Judaica: Ein Handbuch- und Autorenschicksal im Dritten Reich," *Berichte und Forschungen: Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* (2008), 215–54, esp. 245, 252–3.

[78] Cf. C. Cluse, "Zum Zusammenhang von Wuchervorwurf und Judenvertreibung im 13. Jahrhundert," in Burgard *et al.*, eds., *Judenvertreibungen*, 135–63; Cluse, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden* (Hanover, 2000), 171–85 (on Thomas Aquinas), 315–60 (on the construction and spread of anti-Jewish legends), 360–74 (on the influence of the mendicant friars). On Berthold of Regensburg, cf. Haeberli, *Gelehrte*, 120–2; Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer*, 146–51; on the church synods of Vienna and Breslau, see S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century,* vol. II, *1254–1314*, ed. K. R. Stow (Detroit, 1989), 244–9. Anti-Jewish statutes that went beyond those passed at the councils of Lateran (1215) and Vienne (1274), or adopted the synodal decrees of 1267, are rare in the synodal legislation passed under the influence of the

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exclusion of and discrimination against Jews.[79] Nevertheless, we can still find positive relationships between members of the two religious communities on a local level until the mid-1330s – i.e., before the "Armleder" pogroms began.[80] In a number of cases in the western regions, the Christian town communities, at times acting together with ecclesiastical or lay overlords, were able to avert imminent danger.[81] During the quarter of a millennium between 1097 and 1347, no persecutions of Jews can be traced in numerous major towns and cities,[82] while many other towns, mostly small ones with weak defenses, saw a series of pogroms, such as the "Rintfleisch" and "Armleder" movements in Franconia, the "Pulkau" pogroms of 1338 in Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, and the persecutions around Deggendorf, mostly in Lower Bavaria, starting in the fall of 1338.[83]

Other than the pogroms of 1096, which apparently affected all the Jewish communities of the time, and the persecutions of 1348–50, those of the invervening period were local and regional in scope. However, supra-local factors were usually at work locally, and persecutions with a wider geographical scope showed motivations, developments, and effects that might vary from place to place.[84] In the run-up to the Second Crusade in 1146/7, the preaching by a monk named Radulph caused persecutions

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diocesan bishops between 1267 and the mid fourteenth century; cf. R. Richtscheid, *Judenbetreffe in Synodal- und Konzilsstatuten* (2011), www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen/synodal-und-konzilsstatuten.html.

[79] In contrast to the *Sachsenspiegel* legal code, composed between 1220 and 1235 and often copied in northern Germany, the *Schwabenspiegel*, written *c.*1275 in or near Augsburg, and influential in southern and western Germany, had a strong anti-Jewish bias. With the exception of the municipal legal code of Vienna, similar texts are rare in other parts of the German Kingdom. See C. Magin, "Wie es umb der iuden recht stet": Der Status der Juden in spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Rechtsbüchern (Göttingen, 1999), 401–24.

[80] See above.

[81] On Augsburg in 1298, see above, n. 74. Other examples are provided by Würzburg (1336) and Colmar (1338), where towns, together with leading ecclesiastics and nobles, took action against the "Armleder" troops.

[82] These include the *kehillot* in the cathedral cities of Worms, Cologne, Trier, Strasbourg, Constance, Augsburg, and Regensburg.

[83] Cf. above. In Mainz, the Jews were persecuted in 1188, 1281, and 1283; in 1286, they were again accused of "ritual murder."

[84] Thus, the gruesome "Jews' battle" of Frankfurt in 1241 was possibly linked to fears among Christians of the Mongols and their alleged Jewish supporters – fears that no doubt were shared in other places too, without causing pogroms; cf. Yuval, *Perceptions*, 284–8; D. Schnur, "Weltuntergang an der Wende zum Spätmittelalter? Der Frankfurter Pogrom von 1241 und seine Einbettung in jüdische Endzeiterwartungen," in N. Eibisch and H. Klinge, eds., *Endspiele: Zukunftserwartungen zwischen Weltuntergang und Utopia* (Göttingen, 2015), 109–43.

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(of unclear extent) in several towns of the Rhineland, despite the efforts on the part of Bernard of Clairvaux and Archbishop Henry of Mainz, and the protective measures of King Conrad III.[85] In 1188, Frederick I and Henry VI intervened against imminent threats to the *kehillot* in the central Rhine region. Crusaders killed Jews in Worms and Vienna in 1196. In later pogroms driven by Crusading zeal, for example in Erfurt (1221), Fulda (1235), and the duchy of Brabant (1309), charges of ritual murder, first insinuated in 1147, became more pronounced.[86] From 1287 this accusation, and from 1298 the charge (first attested in 1290 in Paris) of Host desecration, became the most important motives or post-event "justifications" for massacres, which now spread throughout the traditional regions of Jewish settlement and royal interest. The charge of ritual murder was fed by Christian anti-Jewish interpretations of *ḳidush ha-Shem*, the (ritual) self-sacrifice in response to persecution and forced baptism.[87] "Host desecration" referred to other Jewish ritual practices, especially around Passover, and received a new emphasis from the growing public veneration of the Eucharist.[88] Both accusations were often interwoven in chronicles and legends.

The massacres raging between November 1348 and the summer of 1350 went far beyond the regions previously affected, though they were apparently more intense in the areas of "old settlement." All existing Jewish settlements in these areas were heavily afflicted by them.[89] The persecutions were fanned by the accusation (by no means believed by all Christian contemporaries) that the Jews had poisoned the wells. All Jews were thus implicated in a conspiracy to spread the new and unknown, pandemic plague, intending to kill all Christians – an extreme version of the myth of the murderous Jew. The charge aimed at the annihilation of all Jews – who were not even able to escape by accepting forcible baptism – as well as of their alleged Christian accomplices. This excessive expression of Christian anti-Judaism was certainly driven by the widespread panic in the

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[85] We can only localize the slaughter of twenty-two members of the Würzburg *kahal*, killed against the local bishop's will in 1147; see A. Haverkamp, *Zwölftes Jahrhundert*, 71–4; on Bernard's role, see H. Breuer, "Die rheinische Kreuzzugspredigt des Heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux: Überlegungen zur Herkunft der Glossen im Codex 23 der Kölner Dombibliothek," *Analecta Coloniensia* 7/8 (2007/8), 83–177.

[86] Cf. above, and nn. 69, 72, and 83; generally, G. Mentgen, "Kreuzzugsmentalität bei antijüdischen Aktionen nach 1190," in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Juden und Christen*, 287–326; on Brabant, see Cluse, *Studien*, 192–210.

[87] Yuval, *Perceptions*, 163–204; Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (London, 2007), 73–102; Mentgen, "Kiddusch."

[88] Yuval, *Perceptions*, 205–6; Cohen, *Christ Killers*, 103–17.

[89] In a few places, mostly in the County of Burgundy, the Jews were expelled rather than killed.

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face of the deadly disease, as were other convulsive changes in the attitudes and practices of many people. The first appearance north of the Alps of flagellants as a religious mass movement is only one symptom. The flagellants disputed the role of the church hierarchy by offering their own path toward salvation. Contemporary Jews watched them with apprehension fed by renewed eschatological expectations and by their experience of the Crusading movement, and saw in them harbingers of apocalyptic persecution. Also, many Christians later blamed the anti-Jewish violence on the flagellants. Some Christian writers, on the other hand, argued that the plague was caused by natural factors or saw it as God's punishment for the sins of Christendom. This ties in with what the Jewish poet Israel (Suslin) ben Joel thought: that the plague was God's punishment for the pogroms. From the Jewish perspective, it also seemed logical that some Christian contemporaries saw the real cause of the pogroms in the debts owed to Jews by the instigators and perpetrators of the massacre.[90]

The threat the plague posed to virtually everyone distinguished it from famine, which often spared the rich. Still, extreme economic hardship, such as in the famine years around 1315, could have similar adverse effects. Starting with 1096, economic crisis variously influenced the outbreak of, recruitment to, and outcome of anti-Jewish riots.[91] Political instability also had a strong influence on pogroms (and was in turn aggravated by them, since the killings not only contravened Church norms but also violated the existing secular legal order). In many cases, the riots were used for political ends. This can be observed in connection with the "Good Werner" pogroms of 1287/8 and in the persecution against the Jews of Brabant in 1309, confined to towns involved in grave authority struggles with the duke. The "Rintfleisch" riots (April through July, 1298) in the royal heartlands of Franconia and Swabia were directly linked with the struggle for the throne between King Adolph of Nassau and Albrecht of Habsburg. Only after his election and accession to the throne could Albrecht put an end to

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[90] A. Haverkamp, "Judenverfolgungen"; F. Graus, *Pest – Geißler – Judenmorde: Das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit*, 2nd edn. (Göttingen, 1988), 155–340; C. Cluse, "Zur Chronologie der Verfolgungen zur Zeit des 'Schwarzen Todes,'" in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, I, 223–42, and III, maps D 1 – D 5; Cluse, *Studien*, 210–83 (esp. 276–82 on '"astrology, prophecy, and eschatology"); Cluse, "Zwischen Vorurteil und Vertrauen: Die Rettung der Regensburger Juden im Jahr 1349," in G. Gemein, ed., *Kulturkonflikte–Kulturbegnungen: Juden, Christen und Muslime in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Bonn, 2010), 362–75.

[91] For example, in 1146/7 and 1195/6 (A. Haverkamp, *Zwölftes Jahrhundert*, 27, 34–5), and during the supply crises of 1337 and 1347 in Alsace (Mentgen, *Studien*, 354, 362). For the state of research, including the problem of climate change, see C. Jörg, "*Teure, Hunger, Großes Sterben*": *Hungersnöte und Versorgungskrisen in den Städten des Reiches während des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2008).

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the persecution. The "Armleder" riots, too, occurred in a phase of heightened political struggle. Just like the "Rintfleisch" pogroms, their leaders were either from the lower nobility or of doubtful origin. Together with a very mixed band of followers (among whom peasants, at times, formed a strong component), these leaders were able to exploit the weakened authority of the Emperor, who had been involved in a struggle with the Avignonese papacy from the beginnings of his reign. The implications of this struggle included the Franciscan "poverty controversy" and other rifts in the political structure. In numerous major towns and cities, "internal" tensions (usually related to "external" factors) reduced the councils' and leading burgesses' scope of action against those who attacked the Jews. In Alsace in May 1338, a number of town communities united with the bishop of Strasbourg and several nobles and knights to form a regional peace against insurgents and the "Armleder" bands. At the same time, the Habsburger Albert II, duke of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, together with some members of the nobility, proceeded against the persecutors in Lower Austria, albeit with limited success. Soon after, he passed measures aimed at preventing further pogroms, in cooperation with his cousin (also named Albert), the bishop of Passau. The fact that he also (and more successfully) defended the Jews at the time of the Black Death earned him the epithet of a "supporter of Jews" (*fautor iudeorum*) among his enemies. On the other hand, Count Palatine Rudolph II, a nephew of Emperor Louis IV, was responsible for a series of pogroms in his own lands in 1343. He allegedly tried to obtain permission to kill all Jews in the German Kingdom from his uncle, who opposed his policies.[92]

At the time of the Black Death pogroms, the struggle for the Crown continued to influence the policies of Charles IV and the Wittelsbacher house down to May 1349. Except for the pogrom in Eger (Cheb), Charles was able to prevent pogroms in his own kingdom of Bohemia. He used his legal claim over the Jews in other parts of the German Kingdom to gratify his followers or win new allies, making far-reaching concessions, even to the extent of granting a royal pardon to a town *in advance of* the expected killing of the local Jews. In Nuremberg, just as in Strasbourg and Erfurt, groups who revolted against the municipal council fanned the atmosphere of fear created by the advance of the Black Death to bring about government changes. When they succeeded, the new council immediately proceeded to plunder and kill the Jews, in ways that could barely hide the grave breach of law under a thin veil of legal procedure. The beleaguered municipal leadership rarely had the military means to step in efficiently against the murderers, who also claimed a semblance of religious

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[92] Cf. A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung," 13–36 (*fautor*: 31); Ziwes, *Studien*, 244–7.

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legitimacy. Even where the council's position was unchallenged, as in Regensburg, it took great efforts to prevent the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence, and among the major towns only Regensburg and Goslar were successful.[93] In many other towns, the municipal leadership's interest in protecting the Jews was reduced by the fact that they had little or no share in the fiscal rights over them. Many ecclesiastical or secular barons, too, and many nobles, gave priority to their own interests when dealing with the Jewish minority – for whom, however, the matter was one of life or death. An extreme – and apparently exceptional – case is provided by Frederick II, landgrave of Thuringia and margrave of Meissen (1310–49), who personally backed the annihilation of the Jews in his own dominions and beyond.[94]

It is likely that more than half of the Jewish population was exterminated in the persecutions between 1348 and 1350/1. Some of them committed *ḳidush ha-Shem*; many others died of the plague. A few survived in the castles of nobles or princes. It was the darkest hour for Ashkenazic Jewry, and it only reinforced the view that the German Kingdom was a "land of persecution" (*erets gezerah*), to recall the words of R. Judah (d. 1349 in Toledo), a son of one of R. Meir's students, the influential scholar R. Asher ben Yeḥiel (d. 1327), who had fled to Spain with his family around 1300. The experience of disaster not only marked the physical existence of the survivors, it also influenced their memories, religious views, and practices. Moved by eschatological expectations, some Rhenish Jews even traveled from Heidelberg to Jerusalem after 1350. Here they became acquainted with the kabbalistic lore of Sepharad, which reinforced their messianic and mystical views and also contained a strong magical element. A member of the growing kabbalistic movement in Ashkenaz, Shimon ben Samuel of Regensburg, around 1400, attested to widespread messianic expectations at the turn of the century, writing that it was written in the Christian mandates that "Jews should be killed every fifty years."[95]

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[93] In Regensburg, on October 3, 1349 – only days after the fateful change of urban leadership in Nuremberg – the mayor, 17 councilors, and 236 other influential burgesses took an oath to protect the local Jews and to prosecute anti-Jewish violence as a breach of the city's honor and dignity – meaning its legal order, self-image, and esteem. The measure also implied that they were safeguarding law and order in their city, as well as their fiscal rights over the Jews. Cf. Cluse, "Vorurteil und Vertrauen."

[94] On Frederick II and the pogrom in Erfurt, see A. Haverkamp, "Judenverfolgungen," 252–6, 276–8; M. Lämmerhirt, *Juden in den wettinischen Herrschaftsgebieten: Recht, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne, 2007), 41–6; on Count Rudolph II (1343) and Duke Albert II, cf. above.

[95] I. J. Yuval, "Kabbalisten, Ketzer und Polemiker: Das kulturelle Umfeld des Sefer ha-Nizachon von Lipmann Mühlhausen," in K. E. Grözinger and J. Dan, eds., *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism* (Berlin, 1995), 155–71, esp. 164; Yuval, "Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche: Nach einer hebräischen Chronik," in A. Haverkamp and

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THE MID FOURTEENTH THROUGH EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

CONDITIONS OF JEWISH LIFE

For the long-term trends in central Europe, the marked population decline over about one century following the Black Death was a fundamental factor. Various economic trends caused new dynamics in the social fabric, both in the countryside – where large parts of the rural population, as well as numerous nobles and knights, were affected by reduced proceeds from the traditional agrarian economy and consequently needed credit – and in the larger towns. There were strong tendencies toward social variation and stratification, as well as painful struggles over participation and exclusion on all levels of the political system. The more independent towns and cities were haunted by tensions when the municipal councils attempted to monopolize all relevant political and fiscal rights, including those pertaining to the Jews, and to assert their supreme authority (*Obrigkeit*) over the Christian community, to enforce social discipline through numerous statutes (including dress codes), and to bring the community's confraternal organizations and Church institutions under their control.[96]

In antagonistic ways, the conflicting parties argued on religious grounds. In this context, religious arguments also served to exclude Jews, "heretics," and other groups – such as those working in "dishonorable" professions – or "Slavs" and "gypsies" who were increasingly categorized along ethnic lines. The effects of the Great Schism in the Western Church (1378–1417)

F.-J. Ziwes, eds., *Juden in der christlichen Umwelt während des späten Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1992), 59–102, esp. 63; A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland," 119; cf. below. The *kehillot* of Mainz, Nuremberg, and Worms held annual fasts on the anniversary of the 1349 persecution, and the lists of martyrs were read out: M. Breuer and Y. Guggenheim, "Die jüdische Gemeinde, Gesellschaft und Kultur," in *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2078–138, esp. 2136.

[96] See the overview in A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Italien"; Toch, *Juden*; and the surveys in *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2079–327; on the urban contexts, see Isenmann, *Stadt*, esp. 407–17 (the municipal *Obrigkeit* and its religious foundations); also P. Moraw, "Die Kirche und die Juden," in *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2282–97 (especially on the implications of printing, 2295); H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (13.–20. Jahrhundert)* (Bern: Lang, 1994). On the increasing discrimination against Judaism in German literature (including Shrovetide and Passion plays), and its spread in manuscripts and print, see, for example, Klaus Wolf, "Das Judenbild in mittelalterlichen Dramen aus Worms, Mainz und Erfurt," in F. Bussert, S. Laubenstein, and M. Stürzebecher, eds., *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Erfurt und die SchUM-Gemeinden: Kulturelles Erbe und Vernetzung* (Jena, 2012), 150–6; on the various anti-Jewish "customs" of the time, cf. G. Mentgen, "Der Würfelzoll und andere antijüdische Schikanen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 22 (1995), 1–48.

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and the spirit of the ecumenical councils encouraged the barons to expand their religious and ecclesiastical authority and to enforce exclusive Christian orthodoxy in their territories. The development favored the popularization of Christian anti-Jewish tenets in coarser ways, in sermons (by "popular" preachers, mostly Dominican and Franciscan friars) as in other forms of representation.[97] From *c.*1470, polemics against Judaism were increasingly spread in print. They had a strong influence on the attitudes and behavior of many, gaining additional force from renewed emphasis on the sufferings of Christ in Christian piety.

The Jews were also directly affected by the eastward shift of the Crown's regional focus of authority, by the Luxemburg dynasty from the mid fourteenth century and by the House of Habsburg from 1438. In their eastern territories, the trends of economic expansion and urban growth and the consolidation of secular princedoms were still strong even after 1350, despite numerous failures, the threat from the Ottoman Turks, and the turmoil caused by the Hussite movement in Bohemia.

PRESENCE REDUCED, MOBILITY INCREASED: PERSECUTION, EXPULSION, EMIGRATION

Following the catastrophes of 1336–8 and 1348–50, slightly more than 1,000 Jewish settlements can be accounted for until *c.*1520 – including, however, the numerous localities where Jews were again persecuted or (temporarily) expelled after the 1350s, such as Magdeburg (1356/7, 1384) or Breslau (1360). Thus, in many places, Jews only lived for short periods, in small numbers, and discontinuously. In the western regions, they returned to fewer than half of those places where they had lived before.[98] New settlements and the expansion of existing ones were mainly features of regions outside the Jewish areas of "old settlement." The eastward shift involved also the centers of Jewish learning, which generally suffered a long-term crisis from the large losses among the Jewish élite.

Resettlement was a slow process, beginning in the 1350s. Jews preferred the larger towns, including the *ShUM* cities, because of the possibility of linking with important Jewish traditions there, especially the cemeteries. In most cases, it took decades until the Jews returned, and more time until they could constitute a *kahal*.[99] Even the larger ones among these *kehillot*

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[97] See, for example, Isaiah Shachar, *The* Judensau*: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and its History* (London, 1974); H. Schreckenberg, *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas: Ein historischer Bildatlas* (Göttingen, 1996).

[98] See A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, III, maps A 4.5 – A 4.6 and A 2.5 – A 2.6; Toch, "Verfolgungen."

[99] Cf. A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, III, maps E 2 and E 4.

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attained no more than one-third of their previous membership numbers, for short periods only.

The first expulsions in the German Kingdom, from *c.*1390, still hit the generation of those who had survived the 1348–50 pogroms. Expulsions were a measure the kings and princes of western Europe had often enacted since 1182, whereas they had rarely been seen in Ashkenaz before 1350. Plans of individual barons to expel the Jews from their lands had remained largely without effect.[100] The first Jews to be affected by the evictions after 1350 were those of the imperial city of Strasbourg and the Palatinate County on the Rhine (including the Upper Palatinate) in 1390. After that, expulsions spread to most of the baronial territories in the south and southeast down to Austria, as well as to Thuringia, Silesia, and Brandenburg.

Expulsions were sometimes followed by readmission after a short interval.[101] Local expulsions were particularly frequent during the 1420s and 1430s, when municipalities (in the Rhineland and in Swabia, including the Swiss lands) increasingly aimed at securing the lasting exclusion of Jews through charters from their overlords.[102] The same regions saw a second wave between 1462 and the late 1470s. The last phase of frequent local expulsions occurred between 1495 and 1520 and mostly affected important Jewish communities in Alsace, Swabia, and Franconia, including Nuremberg and Ulm (1499), Rothenburg ob der Tauber (1519), and the venerable *kahal* of Regensburg (1519), which until 1476 had been spared from persecution. They also hit Jewish settlements far away from these heartlands, in Braunschweig (1510), in Bohemia and Moravia (1453/4), and Silesia (1504).[103]

Some expulsions went along with, or followed, persecution. The most horrific events of this kind occurred in Austria in 1420/1, when Duke Albrecht V had hundreds of Jews taken prisoner, tortured, forcibly

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[100] On the mandate in the last will of the duke of Brabant, in 1261, to "expel all the Jews and Cahorsins from his land unless they cease to commit usury," see Cluse, "Zusammenhang," 149; Cluse, *Studien*, 30–1, 174–85.

[101] This type of fluctuation can be observed on several occasions, for example, at Speyer (from 1405), Mainz (from 1438), and Eger (from 1430).

[102] On these "privilegia de non tolerandis Judeis," see the chronological survey in D. Willoweit, "Die Rechtsstellung der Juden," in *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2165–207, esp. 2202–3.

[103] See the relevant entries in *Germania Judaica III*, and cf. the various articles by F.-J. Ziwes, R. Ries, and F. Backhaus in Burgard *et al.*, eds., *Judenvertreibungen*, 165–240; also Brugger, "Ansiedlung," 221–7; Lämmerhirt, *Juden*, 461–3; Mentgen, "Judenvertreibungen"; C. Cluse, *Darf ein Bischof Juden zulassen? Die Gutachten des Siffridus Piscator OP (gest. 1473) zur Auseinandersetzung um die Vertreibung der Juden aus Mainz* (Trier, 2013).

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baptized, despoiled, and executed, in what is known as the *Gezerah* of Vienna. The survivors were expelled.[104] Such regional pogroms were unusual in this period. Even taking into account a number of local persecutions,[105] the relative impact of pogroms on Jewish settlement was much lower than before 1350.

Expulsions were a different matter: from the turn of the fifteenth century, the forced dislocation of Jews became a serious threat. In most cases, the exiles suffered considerable property losses, which made resettlement difficult. By the mid fifteenth century, only two of the cathedral cities west of the Rhine, the early basis for Ashkenazic Jewry, still had Jewish communities: Mainz and Worms.[106] Due to further expulsions, the only remaining traditional *kehillot* in the areas of "old settlement" in the west and south were in Worms and Frankfurt. In this way, the Ashkenazim soon lost their centers, together with the fundamental functions they performed for the surrounding settlements. Jews no longer lived in the urban centers, the "birthplace" of Ashkenazic Jewry, but in small and minute towns, or even in rural settlements. These places were often subject to the rule of lesser noblemen, who were able to maintain a measure of political independence from the territorial princes in regions like Franconia and Swabia.[107] Besides pogroms and expulsion, the emigration of numerous Jews, due to fear of violence and repression or in the hope of better conditions elsewhere, contributed to these fundamental changes, which had a lasting impact on the lives, options, and attitudes of Ashkenazic Jews all over the medieval German Kingdom.[108]

BETWEEN PROXIMITY AND USEFULNESS, EXCLUSION AND ENMITY

After the pogroms of 1348–50, the returning Jews were usually able to inhabit their previous, central quarters in the towns. In almost all towns and cities, however, the overlords and/or municipalities had appropriated what was left of the Jewish houses and community institutions and denied the few returning survivors their property rights and the option of retrieving their debts from earlier loans. The Jews were forced either to buy these

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[104] Also in Ingolstadt (1384), several Silesian and Moravian towns (1453), Endingen (1470), various towns in Alsace (1476/7), and in Passau (1478).

[105] Toch, "Verfolgungen," 2300–5.

[106] South of the River Danube, the Jewish presence after *c.*1450 was reduced to the time-honored community of Regensburg (until 1519) and the rather less important one in Salzburg (until 1498); cf. A. Haverkamp, ed., *Geschichte der Juden*, III, maps C 4.6 – C 4.7.

[107] For an overview, see Kießling *et al.*, eds., *Räume*.

[108] Cf. *Germania Judaica III*, I, 85–6, 558–9 and III, 1777.

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properties back or to rent. More Christians now lived in the Jewish quarters or alleys than before the pogroms. It was not until the turn of the fifteenth century that some councils advocated a spatial separation between Jews and Christians. In only a few cases was such separation actually enforced.[109]

It would appear that Jews were not increasingly confined to money-lending after 1350. Rather, the increasing documentation and new types of sources reveal that, from around the late fourteenth century, Jews north of the Alps were active in a wide variety of economic pursuits in trade, crafts, and medicine.[110] Still, lending money at interest remained their most important means of subsistence. Loans were given at very various rates of interest, depending on the customers' reliability, their political and social standing, the pressures they were able to exert on the Jews, and possibly the current situation (as in times of economic hardship), but also according to the amount and duration of the loan. While Jews (notably, Jewish widows) were still able to advance high sums to barons and larger communes during the second half of the fourteenth century, such transactions declined steeply afterwards. Jewish activities as customs managers, capital providers, financial administrators, and *familiares* of princes (especially of bishops) also ended around the turn of the fifteenth century, while lending out money to the lower nobility and to the urban and rural populace became more important.[111]

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[109] Separation was enforced in Frankfurt in 1462, when the Jews were relocated to an exclusively Jewish quarter east of the former town wall (the neighboring Dominican monastery, though, was by no means "excluded"), and in Donauwörth in 1493, where the measure was clearly meant as discriminatory. Cf. *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2571–2 (index, *s.v.* "Judengasse, Judenstraße"); A. Haverkamp, "Quarters." Gilomen, "Kooperation," 182–4, dates the beginning of "Ghettoization" in Geneva to *c.* 1408–30. On the increased seclusion of the Jewish quarter in Worms around 1480, which was apparently in the *kahal*'s own interest, see G. Bönnen, "Jüdische Gemeinde und christliche Stadtgemeinde im spätmittelalterlichen Worms," in Cluse *et al.*, eds., *Gemeinden*, 309–40, esp. 326–31.

[110] They span from trading and retailing in wine, grain, cattle, cloth, garments, medicine, and metals, through crafts such as bookbinding, dyeing, leatherwork, glass and window making, tailoring, painting and drawing (e.g. playing-cards), dice production, gold-, silver-, and other metalwork, even expertise in mining, milling, or other technology, to medicine, with a great number of Jewish male and female doctors in diverse specialities. As before 1350, a great deal of regional variance has to be taken into account. Cf. Toch, "Tätigkeit." See also the index to *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2570 (*s.v.* "Handel"), 2589 ("Warenhandel"), 2555–8 ("Berufe"), and 2555 ("Ärzte, Ärztinnen").

[111] Toch, "Tätigkeit"; Wenninger, "Juden," 132–8; Cluse, "Nachwort"; M. Keil, "Mobilität und Sittsamkeit: Jüdische Frauen im Wirtschaftsleben des spätmittelalterlichen Aschkenas," in Toch, ed., *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 153–80.

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To a large extent, these developments resulted from enforced "cancellations" of debts owed to Jews, decreed from the 1370s. These were first ruthlessly practiced, with imprisonment and other means of pressure, by the dukes of Austria. In 1385, a coalition of greed between King Wenceslas and thirty-seven members of the Swabian League of Towns, together with further imperial cities, as well as territories such as the Upper Palatinate, set in motion a much larger scheme. A second confiscation in 1390, again condoned by Wenceslas, proved even worse for the Jews, who were affected in a number of Swiss towns, in Alsace, in the archbishopric of Trier and other parts of the Rhineland down to the Cologne region, but also in Bavaria.[112] The legal situation of the Jews, too, was fundamentally weakened in the heartlands of Ashkenazic Jewry, their status as burgesses undermined. When Jews were readmitted to the towns, the authorities often combined Jewish burgess status with the most disadvantageous elements of "chamber serfdom."[113] On all levels of rule over the Jews, taxes and dues were now claimed and enforced with increasing willfulness. The only mitigating factor was that the various competing authorities were unwilling to allow others to loot, and thereby reduce, the Jews' financial capacities.[114]

As a consequence of the worsening situation, the numbers of Jews who emigrated, often to Italy or other regions of the Mediterranean world, rose significantly from the mid-1380s. Most of these exiles were still from the better-off leading circles of the Rhenish, Swabian, and Franconian *kehillot*.[115] The large capital losses of the remaining Jews, together with the emigration of those who had financial means and political influence, increased the Christian authorities' readiness to expel them. They also changed the social set-up of the Jewish settlements fundamentally, continually reducing the *kehillot*'s means to provide for services that went

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[112] On Austria, see Brugger, "Ansiedlung," 220; *Germania Judaica III*, III, 1985; on the wider scale, Isenmann, "Steuern," *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2267–9. Immediately before the first "cancellation" of Jewish bonds in 1385, King Wenceslas had all Jews in Bohemia imprisoned in order to extort from them a high extraordinary tax (ibid., 1824). On 1390, see ibid., 2014 (Bern, Fribourg, Zurich), 1844, 1861, 2025 (Alsace), 2041 (archbishopric of Trier), 1866 (lords of Hanau), 2061 (Wetterau region), 1753 (Abensberg County), 1786, 1798, 1805 (Duchy of Bavaria). For further bibliography, see A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland," 95.

[113] As early as October 1352, the council of Speyer claimed that all the Jews who henceforth settled in the city "shall be our own with body and property, for a just reason"; see A. Haverkamp, "Kammerknechtschaft," 38.

[114] Isenmann, "Steuern"; C. Jörg, "Zwischen Basler Konzil, Königtum und reichsstädtischen Interessen: Die Kennzeichnung und Ausweisung der Augsburger Juden in europäischen Zusammenhängen," in Brenner and Ullmann, eds., *Juden in Schwaben*, 62–92.

[115] A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland."

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beyond the family sphere. This in turn enhanced the importance of the family in general, but the strain was also felt: it seems that the cohesive power of the family was reduced by a rising number of divorces.[116]

New provisions had to be made for those among the poor who were not integrated into the local families, for the sick, itinerant beggars (*Schalantjuden*), and indigent students.[117] After Jews were readmitted, rulers and civic authorities were increasingly keen on keeping out poor or impoverished Jews, which often coincided with the interest of the Jewish community leaders. This policy is reflected in the fees demanded for settlement permits, and especially for citizen (burgess) status. In most places, the status of *civis* was only granted for a fixed term, as were the protective charters by princes or noblemen. In any case, it was conditional on a certain minimum tax being paid.[118] The situation of the Jewish poor grew worse as the expulsions continued, leaving more and more gaps in the networks of poor relief provided by *kehillot* and Jewish families. Community integration may have been hampered, too, by what appears to have been a dwindling knowledge of Hebrew, mostly among the poor. The famous scholar Jacob Weil (d. 1463) "allowed the use of written Judaeo-German in court."[119]

Taken together, the pressures from rulers and town communes, the dominant position of Jewish family heads, and the high rate of fluctuation among the few members of the reconstructed Jewish communities caused great risks for the functioning of a *kahal*, and it often took years, sometimes decades, before the returning Jewish settlers were able to establish one. In several *kehillot*, this situation led to open conflict. As in Christian communities, these quarrels frequently broke out among influential members over matters of taxation, personal rivalry, and injured honor. Often the town council intervened and thus further undermined the foundations of the *kehillah*, especially in its judicial functions. According to R. Israel Bruna (*c.*1400 until after 1477), who served the Jews of Regensburg as their rabbi for many long years, the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* had become ineffective by the mid fifteenth century.[120] Conflicts deeply affecting community life

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[116] At least in Frankfurt am Main, the change is also reflected in the cemetery, from *c.*1360. Relatives were now laid to rest as closely together as possible, and children aged 1 year or more next to their parents: *Germania Judaica II*, 1, 244; *III*, 1, 351. On divorce, see Israel J. Yuval, "An Appeal against the Proliferation of Divorce in Fifteenth-Century Germany" [Hebrew], *Zion* 48 (1983), 177–216.

[117] Breuer and Guggenheim, "Gemeinde," 2093–9; Y. Guggenheim, "Meeting on the Road: Encounters between German Jews and German Christians on the Margins of Society," in Hsia and Lehmann, eds., *Ghetto*, 125–36; Barzen, "Meaning of Tzedekah."

[118] See above, n. 68. [119] *Germania Judaica III*, 1, 47 and n. 269.

[120] E. Zimmer, *Harmony and Discord: An Analysis of the Decline of Jewish Self-Government in 15th-Century Central Europe* (New York, 1970); Guggenheim, "Jüdische

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might also arise from the competition between scholars for the community rabbinate, which became institutionalized around the mid fourteenth century and often played (or claimed) a key role in community leadership.[121]

Attempts to establish a supra-communal organization by convening delegated rabbinic scholars remained unsuccessful. The decline of Jewish self-government was hastened from the late fourteenth century, when ecclesiastical and lay princes appointed chief rabbis (*Judenmeister*) and endowed them with jurisdictional powers over the Jews in their respective territories. King Ruprecht continued this tradition when, in 1407, he appointed Israel of Rothenburg as *Hochmeister* over all other rabbinic authorities and, generally, all other Jews, male and female, in the "German lands." New forms of organization on the territorial level, however, were at times more effective.[122]

Most Jews entrusted with such supra-local tasks had, at least occasionally, good relations with barons or kings/emperors and their courts. The same applies to a number of personal physicians to lay or (sometimes) ecclesiastical princes. A few Jews were employed as town physicians by municipal councils. These doctors served Christian patients as well as Jewish ones; sometimes, they also engaged in moneylending. As some Christian critics continued to insist, Christian patients were preferring Jewish doctors over Christian ones.[123] As late as 1489, one decade before the expulsion, patricians in Nuremberg attended a Jewish wedding. Irrespective of many prohibitions, Jews and Christians (including clerics and nobles) gambled and drank together in taverns, met at dances or in the bathhouse, or had sexual intercourse.[124] Some *kehillot* (such as Ulm and

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Gerichtsbarkeit"; A. Haverkamp, "Jüdische Gemeinden"; Breuer and Guggenheim, "Gemeinde," 2134–6; Willoweit, "Rechtsstellung," 2187–93. Cf. M. Toch, "Macht und Machtausübung in der jüdischen Gemeinde des Mittelalters," in M. Konradt and R. C. Schwinges, eds., *Juden in ihrer Umwelt: Akkulturation des Judentums in Antike und Mittelalter* (Basel, 2009), 137–55.

[121] I. J. Yuval, *Scholars in Their Time: The Religious Leadership of German Jewry in the Late Middle Ages* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1988); Yuval, "Juristen, Ärzte und Rabbiner: Zum typologischen Vergleich intellektueller Berufsgruppen im Spätmittelalter," in J. Carlebach, ed., *Das aschkenasische Rabbinat: Studien über Glaube und Schicksal* (Berlin, 1995), 119–31; Breuer and Guggenheim, "Gemeinde," 2010–14.

[122] Guggenheim, "*A suis paribus*"; Breuer and Guggenheim, "Gemeinde," 2129–34.

[123] Treue, "Geschichte jüdischer Ärzte"; further evidence will be found in *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2555 (index, *s.v.* "Ärzte, Ärztinnen").

[124] G. Mentgen, "'Alltagsgeschichte' und Geschichte der Juden. Die Juden und das Glücksspiel im Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 274 (2002), 25–60 ; J. R. Müller, "Sexual Relationships between Christians and Jews in Medieval Germany, According

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Regensburg) entrusted Christian men with guarding their cemetery. Christian women continued to serve as wet-nurses for Jewish infants.[125]

There were wide inconsistencies between these forms of familiarity in daily and festive circumstances, prohibited with increasing severity, and the political behavior of leading Christians. High dignitaries showed an opportunistic stance toward the Jews, and their behavior was contradictory.[126] By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, however, the regions north of the Alps saw a more intense pressure from influential Churchmen in favor of enforcing special badges for the Jews, as decreed by the Council of Basel in 1438, and of other forms of compulsory segregation. Key figures in this process were the papal legate Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, and the observant Franciscan preacher Friar John of Capestrano, who toured Germany in 1451/2 and 1451–4, respectively. They were not the only preachers who regarded these and other anti-Jewish measures as cornerstones for the kind of "Church reform" they had in mind. While they met with some resistance from the barons, and especially from the imperial cities, they contributed to an atmosphere that led to pogroms and expulsions.[127]

Radical Jew-haters among the Christians instead used allegations of Host desecration, and especially ritual murder, to justify anti-Jewish violence. It is notable that the blood libel even found credence in court after the mid fifteenth century. Despite papal intervention, this is what happened in the Trent ritual murder case of 1475. The case and its wide literary echo in printed works strongly reinforced the impact of this anti-Jewish topos, especially in Germany.[128] In the course of the fifteenth century, the charge of "usury" was voiced with increasing force and frequency. It was focused on Jewish moneylenders, even if their overall share in the business was dwarfed by Christian bankers, who were now

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to Christian Sources," in Bacon *et al.*, eds., *Iggud*, 19–32. On converts to Christianity, see G. Mentgen, "Jüdische Proselyten im Oberrheingebiet während des Spätmittelalters: Schicksale einer 'doppelten' Minderheit," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 142 (1994), 117–39; C. Cluse, "Konversion, Inklusion, Exklusion: Zur narrativen Identität des 'Taufjuden' in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit," in I. Patrut and H. Uerlings, eds., *Inklusion/Exklusion und Kultur: Theoretische Perspektiven und Fallstudien von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Cologne, 2013), 164–87.

[125] *Germania Judaica III*, III, 1188, 1503.

[126] Ibid., 1013, 1926.

[127] *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2573–4 (index *s.v.* "Kleiderordnungen u. Vorschriften, Judenkennzeichen") and 2292. On the effects of preaching on pogroms and expulsions, see Cluse, *Bischof*, 35–53.

[128] Willoweit, "Rechtsstellung," 2197–8; Moraw, "Kirche," 2292–5; Toch, "Verfolgungen"; W. Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozeß: Voraussetzungen–Abläufe–Auswirkungen (1475–1588)* (Hanover, 1996).

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attaining high positions even north of the Alps.[129] When, in 1420, Crusades were launched against the anti-clerical Hussites, the extreme anti-Jewish traditions of Crusading gained new force as Jews were accused of supporting this hereticized movement. The threat of "death or baptism" from the Crusading armies (mostly composed of mercenaries) became manifest in 1421 when they moved along the Rhine, through Nuremberg and Eger, toward Bohemia. The Crusading mentality also influenced the fateful *Gezerah* of Vienna (1420/1).[130] Jewish sources reveal that Jews read these signs in light of the events of 1096 and 1309 and of their bad experience in the past decades, and that they prayed for a victory by the Hussites, in whom they saw "portents of the imminent victory of Judaism over Christendom."[131] These ideas may have drawn on earlier Jewish writings. Around the turn of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, protagonists of a mystical movement that had started among a number of Rhineland Jews in Jerusalem, and was spread by those of them who returned to the German Kingdom, read the deposition of King Wenceslas as "a sign for the inception of the messianic age." The religious thought and practice of these kabbalists accorded a prominent role to the city of Jerusalem: they even devised a "plan to congregate the Jews of Ashkenaz there and save them from imminent catastrophe."[132]

These experiences, memories, and interpretations reflect both the recurrent fears of persecution among many Jews and their thwarted hopes of redemption from their Christian oppressors. This alienation increased the Jews' need for protection. Lords and, in particular, municipalities entrusted with their protection had to go to greater lengths to ensure it. It became more and more difficult to attain the consent of those who were involved in governance – the estates in the principalities, the councils, guilds, and other influential groups in the towns. The option of taking the

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[129] Cluse, "Nachwort," and other bibliography cited in n. 44.

[130] Yuval, "Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche," 65–6, 84–5; Mentgen, "Kreuzzugsmentalität," 288–9, 310–11, 318–19; *Germania Judaica III*, III, 1986–7; Brugger, "Ansiedlung," 221–4; K. Schubert, "Die Wiener Gesera und der Freitod von Wiener Juden zur 'Heiligung Gottes,'" in B. E. Klein and C. Müller, eds., *Memoria – Wege jüdischen Erinnerns: Festschrift für Michael Brocke zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 2005), 541–52.

[131] Yuval, "Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche," 78.

[132] Cf. above, n. 95. Jews may have known of the chiliastic prophecies current among some contemporary Spiritual Franciscans influenced by Joachimism, and vice versa. The Jewish messianic speculation focusing on the year 1400 was later realigned to the years 1403 and 1430. Cf. Yuval, "Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche," 63; I. J. Yuval, "Magie und Kabbala unter den Juden im Deutschland des ausgehenden Mittelalters," in K. E. Grözinger, ed., *Judentum im deutschen Sprachraum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 173–88 (the quotation is from 181); Yuval, "Kabbalisten"; A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland," 119–38.

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opposite route and expelling the Jews became increasingly attractive, especially in times when increasing poverty among Christians was blamed on "Jewish usury."[133] In quite a few cases, however, the decisions were soon repealed or revised, and, in contrast to the kingdoms of western Europe, they were never decreed, nor even intended, by the Crown.

The Jews had formed a significant part of the communities from which they were expelled. Their presence was intimately bound up with every aspect of the lives of Christians and of their self-representations. Jews were much more than a "marginal group." Thus, their expulsion from large parts of their Ashkenazic homelands was determined by a combination of religious, political, social, and economic motives that are difficult to disentangle, and whose relative weight for the individual decisions is hard to assess.[134]

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[133] These connections are most revealing for the cluster of local expulsions during the period of famine in the 1430s (cf. Jörg, *Hungersnöte*, 223–34, 342–57, and Cluse, *Bischof*, 29) and deserve greater attention for the last two decades of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth.

[134] Mentgen, "Judenvertreibungen"; G. Mentgen, "'Die Juden waren stets eine Randgruppe': Über eine fragwürdige Prämisse der aktuellen Judenforschung," in F. Burgard, C. Cluse, and A. Haverkamp, eds., *Liber amicorum necnon et amicarum für Alfred Heit: Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte und geschichtlichen Landeskunde* (Trier, 1996), 393–411; H.-J. Gilomen, *Juden in den spätmittelalterlichen Städten des Reichs: Normen–Fakten–Hypothesen* (Trier, 2009), 42–8.

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Russian Financial Policy and the Gold Standard at the End of the Nineteenth Century
Author(s): Olga Crisp
Source: *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1953), pp. 156-172
Published by: Wiley on behalf of the Economic History Society
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RUSSIAN FINANCIAL POLICY AND THE GOLD STANDARD AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By OLGA CRISP

I

EVER since Russia had attained the status of a Great Power in the eighteenth century the military requirements for the maintenance of that position imposed on the Russian Treasury a task of a magnitude disproportionate to the largely natural economy of the country and the poverty of its people. This unbalance led to chronic budgetary deficits, despite increased taxation, and recourse to the printing press and foreign loans. It was no accident that both Russia's foreign indebtedness and the régime of paper money had their beginnings under Catherine II, whose reign marked Russia's advent as a Great Power.[1] As foreign borrowing was not always possible, the financial strain imposed by an active foreign policy was frequently reflected in inflation and the squeezing out of circulation of metallic currency. Since the first issue of *roubles-assignats* in 1768 in connexion with the first Turkish war, the volume of *assignats* issued had been swollen by the second Turkish war, the wars with Sweden, Poland and Persia under Catherine II, the Italian campaign under Paul and the Napoleonic wars under Alexander I to over 800 million roubles. By 1815 the value of the *rouble-assignat* in terms of silver had shrunk by nearly four-fifths.[2] Only the relatively long period of peace under Nicholas I after 1830 made possible the currency reform of 1839–43 associated with the name of Count G. F. Kankrin, whereby the 'credit rouble' freely convertible into silver replaced the *rouble-assignat* in the ratio of 1 : 3½.[3] The Crimean War, as a consequence of which the volume of paper roubles more than doubled, forced Russia back on to an inconvertible currency. The downward tendency continued in the 1860's, and only during the period 1868–75 did M. K. Reutern succeed in strengthening the rouble and in arresting the violent fluctuations in the rates. The Turkish war of 1877–8, involving an expenditure of more than 1 milliard paper roubles, inflation and indebtedness, undid all Reutern's achievements.[4]

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[1] Internal loans of any importance were hardly practicable before the 1880's. The first foreign loan was issued in 1769 through the banking house of de Smet and Reymont of Amsterdam. By 1914 the foreign debt of the Russian State had reached 4,229 million roubles. *Wirtschaft und Statistik* (Berlin, 1934), no. 11, pp. 360–3.

[2] *Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonov Russkoy Imperii* (subsequently referred to as P.S.Z.), nos. 13219 and 13220, Ukaz, 29 December 1768 O.S.; M. P. Kashkarov, *Denezhnoye Obrashcheniye v Rossii* (St Petersburg, 1896), II, 25.

[3] The credit rouble will be henceforth referred to as 'paper rouble'. The reform, though bearing Kankrin's name, owed more to the initiative of Nicholas I. See Zapiski Barona Korfa, *Sbornik Istoricheskogo Obshchestva* (St Petersburg, 1896), XCVIII, 159–69, 175–207.

[4] J. de Bloch, *Les Finances de la Russie* (Paris, 1899), II, 256, Kashkarov, *op. cit.* II, 72—the circulation of notes had increased by over 400 million. P. Migulin, *Russkiy Gossudarstvenny Kredit* (Kharkov, 1899–1902), p. 1132—about 1,500 million roubles were borrowed during the war with Turkey and its liquidation.

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In the long run an active foreign policy not only affected Russia's finances but tended indirectly to perpetuate the backwardness of her economy, as all potential savings were skimmed off by taxation and absorbed by the budget for military and other mainly unproductive expenditure. When defeat brought home the realization that to maintain her international status she must increase the productivity of her economy, the process of modernization was conditioned by the legacy of the past. Among the outstanding features of this legacy was the depreciated, unstable and inconvertible paper currency.

In itself the depreciation, though averaging about 38 per cent during the decade 1879–88, had been a lesser evil, for in the course of time prices did adjust themselves to the changed value of the currency. More damaging to the economic life of the country were the frequent and violent fluctuations with a range of over 30 per cent in some years.[1]

II

The instability of the currency was prejudicial to Russia's credit and commercial relations with the West. That long-term foreign investment was discouraged by currency fluctuations is borne out by the unprecedented influx of foreign capital which immediately followed the stabilization of the rouble in 1894.[2] Similarly short-term credits from abroad tended to be influenced by the general economic condition of the country rather than by the soundness or otherwise of the individual enterprise. This probably explains why prior to 1894 only a few firms could obtain short-term credits from foreign banks.[3] Witte also saw in the higher rate of interest some sort of insurance premium for the exchange risk.[4] Russia's state finance likewise suffered, as most of her foreign loans were floated either in gold or silver or currencies based on them, whilst the state revenue was collected in paper currency.[5] An unstable currency also affected foreign trade. Depreciation stimulated exports and restricted imports as well as softened the impact of falling agricultural prices resulting from overseas competition. On the other hand good harvests

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[1] Calculated on the basis of Kashkarov, *op. cit.* I, 170, 175.

[2] During 1895–9, 226 new companies had been founded and 306·9 million gold roubles invested in joint-stock companies in Russia as against only 68 foreign companies and 97·8 million gold roubles of foreign capital during the entire period 1851–94, P. B. Ol', *Statistika inostrannykh kapitalov* (1899, forbidden by the censorship), quoted by St. Sharapov, *Dve Zapiski o russkikh finansakh* (Berlin, 1901), p. 66; also *Slavonic Revue*, April 1933, p. 593; and C. T. Helfferich, *Das Geld im russisch-japanischen Kriege* (Berlin, 1906), p. 26.

[3] These firms were the textile firms of Knoop, the Lódź (Russian Poland) textile firms, and the South Russia ironworks which could obtain credits in London, Berlin and Paris respectively. G. v. Schulze-Gaevernitz, *Volkswirtschaftliche Studien aus Russland* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 508.

[4] S. Y. Witte, *Konspekt lektsiy o narodnom i gossudarstvennom khozyaystve*... (St Petersburg, 1912), p. 313. The onerous terms on which private railway companies in Russia in the 1870's acquired debenture capital seems to bear out the point made by Witte, and explains why the Russian Government decided to take over the bond issues from the companies at a flat rate, to float the bonds themselves as consols, and to provide the companies with resources as and when the need arose. See H. E. Fisk, *The Inter-Ally Debts* (New York, 1924), p. 294.

[5] The annual service of the foreign debt required 98 million roubles in 1899. *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, *op. cit.*

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which gave a favourable turn to the exchange rate of the rouble tended to keep down the exporter's paper rouble income from agricultural exports. Thus in 1890, following an appreciation of the paper rouble, grain producers who had expanded production in anticipation of a fall in rates faced ruin when this development failed to materialize.[1]

Currency fluctuations likewise played havoc with Russia's commercial policy. From 1877 onwards customs duties were collected in gold, so that any rise in the exchange rate of the paper rouble tended to reduce the yield of import duties in paper roubles and to reduce the protective action of Russia's customs policy. Thus in 1890 to offset these consequences the duty on most imports was raised by 20 per cent and in 1891 Vyshnegradsky even proposed to peg the customs duties to the exchange rate of the rouble.[2] Moreover, the most serious argument advanced abroad against commercial treaties with Russia was that the unstable currency rendered her tariff concessions illusory.

All these considerations had made currency reform a priority issue in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Political considerations were also of some importance in making currency reform a major issue. Schulze-Gaevernitz even saw in the reform 'die finanz-politische Seite von Russlands Weltpolitik'.[3] An unstable currency constituted an element of weakness in Russia's international position, as in 1877 and 1887, especially since Germany could, and on occasion did, utilize her position as the main market for Russia's currency for purposes of intimidation.[4] The political aspect of currency reform had been frequently referred to at various stages of the discussions preceding reform.[5]

III

The monetary reform as finally completed by Witte in 1897–9 consisted of the introduction of the gold standard and the devaluation of the currency. It introduced the gold rouble equivalent to one-fifteenth of an Imperial with a fineness of 17·424 doli (0·7774234 gr.) as the basic monetary unit.[6] The choice of gold had been determined by the importance which gold had gained in international transactions since the 1870's. By then Russia had become an integral part of the world economic system. In foreign trade she occupied by 1895–6 the sixth place in the world with a turnover

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[1] French Consular Reports, Paris, Archives Nationales, F12, 7173, Consul de Strotz, Riga 25 May 1891, Consul Cassas, Odessa 30 April 1891 and A. Sauvaire, Odessa 15 September 1894 and 16 October 1894; also *Ministerstvo Finansov 1802–1902* (St Petersburg, 1902), II, 114 (official publication of the Russian Ministry of Finance).

[2] E. Zweig, *Die Russische Handelspolitik seit 1877* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 32, and Vyshnegradsky's memorandum to the State Council of 15 April 1891, no. 4146 quoted by M. N. Sobolev, *Tamozhennaya politika Rossii...* (Tomsk, 1911), pp. 705 ff.

[3] Schulze-Gaevernitz, *op. cit.* p. 462.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 518.

[5] P. P. Migulin, *Reforma denezhnogo obrashcheniya v Rossii i promyshlenny krizis* (Kharkov, 1902), pp. 112 and 124; also Witte, *op. cit.* p. 315.

[6] The Imperial was a gold coin equal to ten gold roubles, used in the main in international settlements; its fineness had been adjusted by the Decree of 17 December 1885 whereby the Demi-Imperial, equal to 5 roubles, was almost interchangeable with the 20-franc piece, which was said to have facilitated the penetration of Russian securities to the French market. See E. Lorini, *La Riforma monetaria della Russia* (Turin, 1897), p. 56.

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of 853·2 million gold roubles out of a world turnover of 22,318 million.[1] More than 50 per cent of her state and state-guaranteed debt consisted by 1893 of bonds payable in gold or foreign currency based on gold, almost all of which had been placed abroad.[2] Moreover, Russia had no special interest in the maintenance of silver as she had no silver production or reserves of any importance in face of a gold output by 1895 of about 15 per cent of world production.[3]

Historically the beginnings of the monetary reform can be traced back to M. K. Reutern who introduced payment of customs duties in gold,[4] and also proposed to admit business transactions in gold at the rate of the day. The latter proposal was tantamount to official recognition of the premium on gold, but did not become law until 1895 because of the opposition of the State Council to any measure savouring of devaluation.[5]

IV

N. K. Bunge, formerly professor of economics at Kiev University, who initially shared the Council's view and thought to raise the value of the currency by withdrawing the notes issued during the 1877–8 war, soon realized that, as his predecessor in office, A. A. Abaza, so aptly expressed it, 'notes once in circulation are as difficult to withdraw as it is to separate wine from water'.[6] Growth in population and in commercial and industrial activity had increased demand for money in circulation without any corresponding expansion of transport and banking facilities to counteract the need for an increased circulation.[7] This fact and the desire to avoid currency fluctuations induced Bunge to take up Reutern's project to permit transactions in gold at the rate of the day. This project, however, was again vetoed by the State Council.[8]

These initial setbacks did not seriously affect Bunge's general financial policy, as he saw the solution of the monetary problem in a general growth and strengthening of the economy which would create favourable conditions out of which a sound currency would emerge as a natural consequence. By means of a more liberal taxation policy towards the peasantry and of agricultural credit for both the landowners and the peasants,

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[1] St. O. Gulishambarov, *Vsemirnaya torgovlya v XIX veke i uchastiye v ney Rossii* (St Petersburg, 1898), p. 203. Russia's commercial relations with the countries of Asia were of relatively little importance, e.g. China accounted for 3·7 %, Persia for 1·7 % and Turkey for 1·6 % of Russian foreign trade turnover by the middle of the 1890's, *ibid.* p. 180; for the geographical distribution of Russia's grain exports, see M. V. Kaspèroff, *Commerce des céréales*, in *La Russie à la fin du 19e siècle*, M. V. de Kovalevsky, ed. (Paris, 1900) (Official Publication of the Rus. Min. of Finance).

[2] I. F. Gindin, *Russkiye kommercheskiye banki* (Moscow, 1948), p. 452; in 1883 the Russian Government undertook to pay in gold for the five odd loans which had been concluded in silver. See Migulin, *Reforma*, *op. cit.* p. 4.

[3] Gulishambarov, *op. cit.* p. 52, also M. W. de Kovalevsky, *op. cit.* pp. 316–18.

[4] P.S.Z. no. 56573, Ukaz 10 November 1876 O.S.

[5] Kashkarov, *op. cit.* I, 190.

[6] Quoted by Migulin, *Reforma*, *op. cit.* p. 9.

[7] E. de Montebello to Hanotaux, St Petersburg 8 November 1894, (copy) Arch. Nat. F 30, 331.

[8] A. N. Gurev, *Denezhnoye obrashcheniye* (St Petersburg, 1903), pp. 190, 193.

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Bunge sought to promote the increased productivity of agriculture, and by a protective customs policy he endeavoured to further industrial development.[1] This, however, was a long-term policy and, in the meantime, the support afforded to agriculture reduced revenue and increased the difficulty of balancing the budget.[2] In search of revenue he introduced a number of new duties, mainly indirect, which did not, however, make good the reduced revenue from peasant taxes.[3] Bunge's experience throws an interesting light on the dilemma which any government, however well disposed towards the peasantry, had to face in a country where over 80 per cent of the population was in one way or another connected with rural occupations. What Bunge ultimately achieved was to replace direct by indirect taxation whilst the tax-payers remained largely the same. Bunge maintained that the cause of the country's budgetary difficulties lay in the cost of the war and naval ministries (over 32 per cent of average annual expenditure during 1881–6) and of the service of the public debt which had increased by 50 per cent since the Turkish war of 1877–8 (nearly 30 per cent of average annual expenditure).[4] To meet the budget deficit recourse to new foreign borrowing was necessary which made the improvement of Russia's balance of trade all the more imperative. However, export surpluses, achieved mainly by import cuts, were not sufficient to balance Russia's external accounts, especially as agricultural prices in the 1880's were falling. At the same time agricultural production did not increase sufficiently to make up for falling prices. As import of foreign capital declined consequent upon the Turkish War,[5] no new regions were being opened up. Moreover, the period of Bunge's administration was not favoured by good harvests. The political situation, with the Afghan crisis involving sales of Russian securities in London in 1885 and the Bulgarian crisis of 1886, was unfavourable to Bunge.[6] The fall in the rate of the paper rouble to a level never before reached in its whole history, and Russia's financial weakness and helplessness in face of a critical situation, brought home the realization that 'pour se guérir il

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[1] 1881—abolition of the Salt Tax on Bunge's advice by Abaza; 1886—abolition of the Poll Tax—altogether peasant taxes reduced by nearly one-third in relation to 1882; 1882—Peasant Land Bank founded; 1885—Land Bank for the Nobility; also Sobolev, *op. cit.* pp. 821 ff.

[2] The deficit on the Ordinary Budget during the six years of Bunge's administration amounted to about 230 million paper roubles—calculated on the basis of *Ministerstvo Finansov*, II, 640–3.

[3] Zweig, *op. cit.* p. 24.

[4] C. Skalkovsky, *Les Ministres des Finances de la Russie 1802–90* (tr. from Russian) (Paris, 1891), p. 268; S. S. Khrulev, *Finansy Rossii* (St Petersburg, 1909), table II and p. 96; also *Ministerstvo Finansov*, II, 642–3.

[5] The average price for a pud of Russian wheat fell according to Russian customs statistics from 90·1 copecks during 1871–5 to 85·1 during 1876–80 and to 76·7 during the period 1881–5, *Sbornik svedeniy po istorii i statistike vneshney torgovli Rossii*, V. E. Pokrovsky, ed. (St Petersburg, 1902), I, 12; the average volume of grain exports increased by less than 6% in comparison with the period 1876–80, on the basis of *ibid.* p. 105. *Note*: Russian customs statistics tend to underestimate exports and overestimate the import figures, so that the balance of trade is normally better than warranted by Russian statistics. See A. Raffalovich, *Le marché financier* (Paris, 1897–8), p. 410 and S. Zuckerman, *Statistischer Atlas zum Welthandel* (Berlin, 1921), graphs and tables, Russia, p. 69.

[6] For an analysis of the relation between currency fluctuations and political events, see Kashkarov, *op. cit.* p. 175, see also *Documents Diplomatiques Français (1871–1914)*, 1st ser. VI, Waddington to Freycinet (London, 10 April 1885).

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fallait avoir recours à des remèdes serieux et décisifs et peut-être même changer de médecin en trouvant un homme à poigne...'.[1] Such a man had been found in the person of I. A. Vyshnegradsky.

V

Like Reutern and Bunge, Vyshnegradsky understood the necessity for a thoroughgoing reform of the country's economic system, but, unlike the latter, considered such a reform unthinkable given the existing monetary system.[2] Nor had he any illusions as to the possibility or the desirability of restoring the paper rouble to par.[3] His aim was to stabilize the paper rouble at the existing level or near it, and as the best means to this end he considered the admission of transactions in metallic currency and the accumulation of a gold reserve. Faced, like his predecessors, with the State Council's opposition to the first project,[4] he concentrated on the latter. To create a favourable balance of payments, to expand exports and keep down imports and other expenditure abroad, to attract gold into the country and to direct this gold into the Treasury became the guiding, all-pervading objective of his policy.

Unlike Bunge, Vyshnegradsky had been greatly favoured by 'His Majesty the Harvest'. Two consecutive excellent harvests in 1887 and 1888 enabled Russian exports to reach the peak of the century, at a time when the fall in American wheat exports increased European demand for Russian wheat. Moreover, he employed a series of artificial measures to stimulate Russian exports, such as differential railway tariffs to encourage exports from distant areas, and a campaign against arrears in taxation to force the peasantry to market their grain.[5]

The increase in exports was accompanied by a fall in imports. Vyshnegradsky's commercial policy culminated in the Unified Tariff of 1891 which was dominated by fiscal and monetary considerations although the protectionist aims also had their importance.[6] The result was considerable surpluses on the balance of trade averaging 311·2 million paper roubles annually during 1887–91 as against 68 million during 1882–6.[7] In addition he endeavoured to prevent an increase in expenditure abroad, the main item of which was the service of the public debt. The replacement of the '5 per cent Mendelsohn Bonds' of 1877 by a 4 per cent loan of 500 million francs issued on the Paris market at the end of 1888 marked the beginning of the vast conversion operations on the French market and opened a new era in the history of Russia's foreign credit.[8] By 1891 a debt of over a milliard gold roubles had been converted into a debt the nominal value of

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[1] Skalkovsky, *op. cit.* p. 257.

[2] Zweig, *op. cit.* p. 24, and V. N. Lamsdorf, *Dnevnik* (*1886–90*) (Moscow, 1926), p. 352.

[3] Migulin, *Reforma*, *op. cit.* p. 13.

[4] Gurev, *op. cit.* p. 201.

[5] P. I. Lyashchenko, *Ocherki agrarnoy evolutsii Rossii* (St Petersburg, 1908), p. 265.

[6] Sobolev, *op. cit.* pp. 491 ff.

[7] Calculated on the basis of Pokrovsky, *op. cit.* pp. 117, 141.

[8] Crédit Lyonnais, Service des Études Financières, Paris. Contract made at St Petersburg, 5/17 November 1888, unpublished, P.S.Z. no. 5 1415, and Ministère des Finances Françaises, Inspection Générale, Mission en Russie (Imprim. Nat., Paris, 1892), pp. 41 ff.

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which was some 102 million gold roubles higher but the annual service of which represented a saving of 12½ million gold roubles.[1] At the same time Vyshnegradsky refrained as far as possible from new loans abroad, confining himself for indispensable loans to the home market which by then, thanks to Bunge's policy of encouraging the development of savings banks, was beginning to take up state securities on an increasing scale. The prices at which the issuing banks took up Russian loans, the prices of issue, the number of subscribers and the extent of over-subscription and bourse quotations all indicated the progressive improvement in Russia's credit abroad.[2]

Although the obvious improvement in Russia's financial administration and the general abundance of capital on the European money markets in the 1880's[3] partly explain the success of Vyshnegradsky's foreign loan policy, political factors probably played an even greater role. In the 1880's and the opening years of the following decade France tried to end her isolation in Europe by winning Russian friendship,[4] and Vyshnegradsky could not but welcome the opportunity of profiting financially from the political situation. He did not contemplate a total abandonment of the German market which during the years 1876–86 had acquired a virtual monopoly of Russia's credit, but he realized the dangers of dependence thereby created.[5] He agreed with De Giers that 'a system which would permit Russia to choose between the Berlin and Paris bourses would be the wisest, most expedient and desirable for Russia.'[6] If a break with the Berlin market actually took place, and if the French market gained a larger degree of influence over Russia's credit to the detriment of the German market, this had been largely due to Bismarck himself who, by encouraging a press campaign against Russia's credit, and by the *Lombardverbot*, caused a panic among German holders of Russian bonds.[7] It was then that the French purchased considerable numbers of Russian securities 'expelled' from the Berlin bourse and the great conversion operations contemplated by Vyshnegradsky were carried out with great success on the French market. 'Les Français ont prouvé non en parole, mais en action, toute leur sympathie pour la Russie',[8] wrote a contem-

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[1] Crédit Lyonnais, *loc. cit. Historique de la dette consolidée russe*, 1889–91, unpubl.

[2] *Ministerstvo Finansov, op. cit.* II, 86, Crédit Lyonnais, *loc. cit.* draft of the 4% 1890 loan, n.d.; B. Nolde, *L'Alliance Franco-Russe* (Paris, 1936), p. 511; *Doc. Dip. Fran.* 1st ser. VII, Laboulaye to Spuller, St Petersburg, 15 May 1889.

[3] *Ministerstvo Finansov, op. cit.* II, 85 and A. Raffalovich, *Les méthodes employées par les états au XIX siècle pour revenir à la bonne monnaie*, p. 27, in Congrès International des Valeurs Mobilières (2nd number, 30 April 1900, Paris).

[4] Nolde, *op. cit.* pp. 488 ff. and A. S. Yerusalimsky, *Vneshnyaya politika germanskogo imperializma v kontse XIX veka* (2nd ed., Moscow, 1951), p. 203.

[5] In January 1887 Bismarck estimated Russia's debt placed in Germany at 1200 million roubles representing about 2 milliard marks, according to E. Ibbeken, *Das aussenpolitische Problem Staat und Wirtschaft in der deutschen Reichspolitik 1880–1914* (Schleswig, 1928), p. 108; the *Kreuzzeitung* estimated German holdings of Russian securities at 2·5 milliard marks.

[6] Lamsdorf, *op. cit.* p. 137.

[7] *Die Grosse Politik der Europaeischen Kabinette, 1871–1915*, vol. V, Herbert v. Bismarck to Fuerst v. Bismarck, 11 October 1887 and v. Boetticher to H. v. Bismarck, 10 November 1887; *Doc. Dip. Fran.* 1st ser. VI, Laboulaye to Flourens, 8 August 1887, and Schulze-Gaevernitz, *op. cit.* p. 552.

[8] Skalkovsky, *op. cit.* p. 297.

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porary writer on financial matters, although the French capitalists who purchased Russian bonds were handsomely rewarded. The rise in the price of Russian securities which followed brought them by the middle of the 1890's a profit of some 540 million francs, not to mention the considerable profits on issues, whilst the Germans who had substituted Italian rentes for Russian securities lost heavily on the deal.[1] French readiness to absorb Russian securities had also been assisted by the commercial conflict with Italy which had cut off the Italian market from French capital.[2]

Although Vyshnegradsky had been less successful in restricting the expenditure abroad of Russian travellers 'qui s'y distraient de la mélancholie monotone de leur climat et y dépensent en quelques mois les revenus de quelques années',[3] the export surplus running at some 300 million paper roubles annually was sufficient to balance the country's external accounts and to ensure an influx of gold into the bargain.[4]

In order to take advantage of the new situation and to strengthen the gold reserve for monetary purposes the government still had to find funds for the purchase of gold bills abroad from Russian exporters. This Vyshnegradsky in part did by increasing revenue from indirect taxation, state-owned railways, Crown lands and forests, and by reducing expenditure on the service of the external debt already described above.[5] But although he had put an end to budgetary deficits, and even produced surpluses, these were not sufficient to make possible the purchase of gold bills abroad on the scale he contemplated. He therefore employed a portion of the resources of the State Bank and of the reserves of the Treasury for this purpose. As the gold thus acquired could not be circulated the resulting immobilization of the funds of the State Bank may explain the shrinkage in its commercial activities during the period 1888–92, not otherwise warranted by the state of the market, and the need for special paper rouble issues in 1891–2 for relief to regions hit by harvest failures.[6] In purchasing gold bills Vyshnegradsky exercised considerable caution to avoid undue depreciation of the paper rouble. There was even some export of gold from Russia, the increase in the gold reserve inside the country being due to domestic output.[7] The realization of bills and the withdrawal of gold from abroad called for even greater prudence in order to avoid disturbing the money markets, as in 1891 when the critical position of the London money

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[1] French Consul General at Warsaw, (copy) Warsaw, 25 January 1896, Arch. Nat. F 30, 330. The Italian rente which stood at 102 in October 1887 fell to 80 in October 1893, Schulze-Gaevernitz, *op. cit.* p. 553.

[2] G. Martin, 'Histoire économique et financière', p. 452 in vol. x of Gabriel Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation française* (Paris, 1927), also E. V. Tarle, *Evropa v epokhu imperializma 1871–1919* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1928), p. 33.

[3] Verstraete to Delcassé, St Petersburg, 31 March 1898, (copy) *Formation de l'encaisse or et balance économique*, Arch. Nat. F 30, 331; estimates of travellers' expenditure abroad differed widely; an official computation put it at 40 million on the average annually during 1888–91.

[4] No exact figures on the balance of payments are available; according to an official computation the surplus on the balance of payments during the period 1888–91 was about 70 million gold roubles annually, Verstraete to Delcassé, 31 March 1898, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Yezhegodnik Ministerstva Finansov 1869–1913* (St Petersburg, 1892), p. 76.

[6] Verstraete to Delcassé, 31 March 1898, *loc. cit.*

[7] Bompard to Ribot, 22 July 1895, (copy) Arch. Nat. F 30, 331.

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market, where the greater part of Russia's credit balances was at that time maintained, had to be considered.[1] By the end of 1892 the withdrawal operations from abroad were almost complete; and by January 1893 the gold reserve amounted to 581 million gold roubles representing an increase of 281·5 million roubles during Vyshnegradsky's administration.[2]

At the same time Vyshnegradsky's attempts to stabilize the currency met with complete failure, notwithstanding the increased gold reserve and the general improvement in the country's finances. Fluctuations in the rate of the paper rouble were even more violent than before, for which political factors were largely responsible.[3] However, the Minister himself had some share of responsibility for the failure, for while concentrating on the accumulation of a gold reserve he lost sight of his other objective, and frequently encouraged a fall in the rate to stimulate exports.[4] The most important factor in the instability of the currency, however, was the speculation in paper roubles which developed on the Berlin bourse, an important centre for transactions in Russian currency since the 1870's. Originally the forward transactions in paper roubles which had developed on the Berlin bourse had been a positive factor in promoting commercial relations between the two countries, widening the market for the paper rouble and facilitating the flotation of 'credit loans'.[5] In the 1880's, however, these transactions, though in some cases still genuine, had on the whole taken on the character of purely speculative deals, and the paper rouble became the favourite object of bourse speculation which also involved Russian securities and her external credit in general and furthermore furnished Germany with a political weapon, as in 1887.[6] Unfortunately also, Russian banks, exporting firms who had an interest in low exchange rates, and the Minister of Finance himself participated in this speculation.

The famine which affected some twenty provinces of Russia in 1891, the harvest failure in some localities, and a cholera epidemic in 1892 threatened to thwart Vyshnegradsky's plans,[7] and his insistence on the continuation of the export drive in face of the plight of the population were considered as characteristic of his whole policy based on the exploitation of the agricultural population by ruthless taxation and 'starvation exports'.[8] But although he was responsible for an increase in certain indirect taxes, a study of his budgets does not quite confirm the customary opinion that

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[1] Lamsdorf, *op. cit.* p. 338.

[2] Verstraete to Delcassé, 31 March 1898, *loc. cit.*

[3] Kashkarov, *op. cit.* I, 175.

[4] S. N. v. Propper, *Was nicht in die Zeitungen kam; Erinnerungen des Chefredakteurs der 'Birschewyja Vedomosti'* (Frankfurt a. M., 1929), p. 258, and Schulze-Gaevernitz, *op. cit.* p. 476.

[5] 'Credit loans' were loans issued and payable in 'paper roubles', whilst 'metallic loans' were loans issued in gold or silver or currencies based on these metals.

[6] For the history of the Berlin bourse as the market for Russian currency see Schulze-Gaevernitz, *op. cit.* pp. 450–524.

[7] Copy of the report of the French Chargé d'Affaires at St Petersburg, De Vauvineux, 4 November 1891, Arch. Nat. F 30, 328 and *loc. cit.* F 12, 7173, Consul in Odessa, 20 November 1893, also *Ministerstvo Finansov*, II, 311.

[8] Propper, *op. cit.* p. 150; M. Bogolepov, *Obshchestvennoye Dvizheniye v Rossii v nachale*, XX *veka* (St Petersburg, 1909), I, 158.

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he pursued a policy of 'sucking dry' the agricultural population to find the resources required by the Treasury. The relative promptness with which direct taxes were paid may indicate harsh methods of collection, but the obvious connexion between harvest results and taxation revenue does not quite confirm this assumption. It seems feasible that his predecessor Bunge's policy, slow in showing improvements in the country's public finance, contributed to the well-being of the agricultural population and indirectly to a higher state revenue under Vyshnegradsky, a conclusion suggested by the increase in small savings in state savings banks.[1] Furthermore, an examination of harvest and grain export figures indicates a close correlation between these two phenomena.[2]

On the other hand, his attitude to the project of establishing a Ministry of Agriculture would seem to illustrate his general lack of interest in that most vital branch of the economy which provided a livelihood to the overwhelming majority of the population and on which, in the last resort, depended the success of the schemes of the Minister of Finance.[3] Furthermore, by concentrating with such zeal on his financial operations and on the husbanding of state resources, he did little to develop the productive forces of the country. Based as his policy was on harnessing, and not on extending, the existing forces, its success depended in the last resort on the strength and resistance of these forces. The famine of 1891–2 seemed to indicate that the limit of endurance had been reached. Also Vyshnegradsky's almost prohibitive customs policy caused retaliation on the part of the Germans which eventually developed into open tariff war,[4] whilst the 3 per cent Gold Loan of 1891 met with very incomplete success owing to the hostility of the Rothschilds consequent upon the anti-Jewish policy of the Imperial Government.[5] Nevertheless, whatever the weaknesses of the system built up by Vyshnegradsky, the six years of his administration marked an enormous advance in Russia's finances, and he went a long way towards bringing the monetary reform near completion.

VI

About Vyshnegradsky's successor, S. Y. Witte, one could say without qualification, more than about any other Russian finance minister, that he had a long-term policy, or rather a theory of economic policy, which, in spite of several deviations in practice, underlay all his activities as Minister of Finance.[6] He saw the roots of the country's economic backwardness in the one-sided character of its economy, which had put Russia's very existence at the mercy of the annual harvest and which turned even

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[1] Delamotte, Inspecteur des Finances, *Mission en Russie*, 1 February 1905, Arch. Nat. F 30, 331 and Khrulev, *op. cit.* table no. XXII.

[2] Pokrovsky, *op. cit.* p. 6.

[3] Lamsdorf, *op. cit.* p. 350.

[4] Zweig, *op. cit.* pp. 38 ff.

[5] *Doc. Dip. Fran.* 1st ser. VIII, Waddington to Ribot, 11 May 1891; Herbette to Ribot, (copy) Arch. Nat. F 30, 332 and *Doc. Dip. Fran.* 1st ser. IX, D'Estornelles de Constant to Ribot, 1 October 1891.

[6] An exposition of Witte's principles can be found in his 'The national economy and Frederic List', in his *Konspekt lektsiy...*, *op. cit.* and in his annual memoranda to the Emperor which accompanied the budget.

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a partial harvest failure into a national calamity. The way out of this predicament was to promote rapid industrialization of the country or, as Witte called it, 'widening the application of national labour'; and the means to this end was the protection of the young Russian industries and, even more important, the intensive application of foreign capital.[1] His belief that only foreign capital could enable Russia to speed up her economic growth made him attach great importance to the country's credit abroad. An unstable currency, in his opinion, obscured the real progress made by Russia in the financial and economic spheres, and prevented foreign financial circles from fully appreciating the promptness with which Russia had always met her commitments abroad, whatever the circumstances.[2]

With the immediate object therefore of stabilizing the currency he took energetic measures to combat speculation in paper roubles. Having first of all ascertained the extent of the movements of paper roubles in and out of the country, by making speculative currency transactions illegal and by imposing a strict control over the activities of the Russian bourses, he succeeded in overcoming internal speculation in the rouble.[3] Foreign speculation he eliminated by a carefully staged campaign of counter-speculation against the Berlin bourse.[4] The *coup de force* of October 1894, though met by an outburst of indignation from German official and financial circles, proved effective,[5] as demonstrated by the movement of the rates of exchange of the paper rouble from 1894 onwards.[6] To reduce to a minimum the fluctuations still taking place he ordered the State Bank to continue purchasing and selling gold bills to maintain fluctuations within the gold points.

Having *de facto* stabilized the currency Witte began to contemplate introducing gold into circulation which was of immediate importance in connexion with the paradoxical situation in which the State Bank and Treasury found themselves as a result of Vyshnegradsky's policy of purchasing gold with their resources. The situation was aptly described by Maurice Verstraete as follows: 'la situation de la Russie thésaurisant de l'or improductif ressemblait à celle d'une armée dont l'armement va être renouvelé; elle conserve ses anciens fusils pendant que des fusils nouveaux s'entassent momentanément à rien et constituent un luxe qu'il faut payer.'[7] Being aware of the conservative attitude of the State Council to currency reform Witte tried to introduce partial gold circulation in the form of gold transactions at the rate of the day; and, unlike his predecessors,

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[1] Witte, *Konspekt*, *op. cit.* pp. 141, 207, 215.

[2] Witte's memorandum to the State Council of 14 March 1896, quoted by Migulin, *Reforma*, *op. cit.* pp. 112–22.

[3] P.S.Z. no. 9461, Ukaz 29 March 1893 and no. 9741, Ukaz 8 July 1893.

[4] Propper, *op. cit.* p. 230; A. Sauvaire, Consul in Odessa, to G. Hanotaux, 29 October 1894, (copy) Arch. Nat. F 12, 7173; Schulze-Gaevernitz, *op. cit.* p. 526.

[5] For German reaction to Witte's 'coup de force', see M. de Chalmes, French Consul General at Warsaw to G. Hanotaux, 31 October 1894, (copy) Arch. Nat. F 30, 329.

[6] For the evolution of the rates of exchange of the paper rouble on London, see Kashkarov, *op. cit.* I, 170.

[7] Verstraete to Delcassé, 31 March 1898, *loc. cit.*

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he succeeded in winning the consent of the Council to such a measure.[1] When this measure, however, failed to act as a substitute for gold circulation because of lack of confidence among the public, Witte had to resort to the 'unconstitutional' procedure of introducing full gold circulation by a series of separate imperial decrees.[2] Not until 7 July 1899 was the new Monetary Statute consolidating the Imperial Decrees promulgated with the legislative sanction of the State Council. This procedure was necessary because the Council would have agreed to the convertibility of the paper rouble only on the basis of parity with gold, while Witte realized that the raising of the paper rouble rate to par was hardly practicable, as it could be achieved only in one of three ways: by gradually strengthening the paper rouble; by substantially increasing the gold reserve; or by reducing the volume of paper roubles in circulation—all of them impossible or dangerous.[3] Even assuming that raising of the paper rouble to par with gold was possible, the cumulative effect of such a measure would have been to worsen Russia's balance of payments position. Russian agricultural producers in particular would have been severely hit, as grain prices would have immediately fallen, while costs of production, with the exception of imported machinery, would have adjusted themselves only slowly to the changed conditions. This would have been the case, particularly in the Eastern and Southern regions, the centres of export-grain, where wages were paid in money and where, especially as labour in the South was migratory, agricultural producers had to compete for labour with the mine- and mill-owners.[4] As debtors whose debt consisted almost entirely of 'credit loans', agricultural producers would have been faced with an increase of the real burden of interest payments of one-third. Likewise the Russian State would have found its liabilities on account of that part of its Public Debt which was expressed in paper roubles increased by a third.[5]

Thus only on the basis of devaluation could the convertibility of the paper rouble against gold be established without adversely affecting the economic relations of the country. As to the precise rate at which the paper rouble was to be exchanged against gold, that of 1½ : 1 or 66⅔ gold copecks to one paper rouble had been considered the most advisable. This rate had been the nearest to the arithmetical average of the average rates of the paper rouble in gold copecks since 1877, and also to the rouble rates as determined by the country's balance of trade which according to

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[1] *Ministerstvo Finansov*, *op. cit.* II, 410 and P.S.Z. no. 11644, Ukaz of 8 May 1895.

[2] P.S.Z. nos. 13612, 14504 and 14633 and *Yezhegodnik*... for 1898, Report on the Budget for 1897. The most important of these were those of 3 January 1897, 29 August 1897 and 14 November 1897.

[3] The first method would have meant postponing reform for many decades and required favourable political and economic conditions during this period; the second would have increased the country's foreign indebtedness beyond the safe margin; the third proved impracticable during 1881–7 when it proved impossible to withdraw the war issues.

[4] Schulze-Gaevernitz, *op. cit.* p. 472.

[5] Russia's state and state-guaranteed 'credit debt' amounted to 3,330·3 million paper roubles by 1 January 1896 (Gindin, *op. cit.* p. 452). The service of this debt amounted to about 144 million paper roubles annually by 1 January 1896. See French Consul General Bogard, at Warsaw, 17 December 1897, (copy) Arch. Nat. F 30, 330.

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official calculation averaged 63·94 gold copecks during 1878–94 and $66\frac{2}{3}$ copecks during 1888–94.[1]

By the Reform of 1897–9 the parity between the paper and gold rouble was restored by reducing the value of the gold rouble in proportion to the depreciation of the paper rouble through a lowering of the gold content of the gold rouble, so that the Imperial and the Demi-Imperial equalled 15 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ roubles respectively. The State Bank had the right to issue notes up to 600 million with a 50 per cent gold backing and over and above that amount each note required 100 per cent backing. This stringent regulation deprived the monetary system of the necessary elasticity in times of crisis when more cash might be required. Russia, however, was not yet ripe for the adoption of the system current in Germany, for example, where, in addition to gold, first-class securities were used as cover for the note issue.[2] In order to secure the necessary elasticity of the monetary system the government maintained gold reserves far in excess of legal requirements and refrained from fully exercising their right to issue uncovered notes. The maintenance of this large gold reserve was a luxury, especially in view of Russia's position as a debtor state, but was felt to be necessary for purposes of elasticity and to sustain foreign confidence. On the other hand the State Bank on which devolved the task of controlling the currency had not been adequately reorganized for the purpose, as the old Statutes of the Bank contained many clauses incompatible with its new position as a bank of issue and also clauses which gave the Minister of Finance scope for abusing the right of issue for fiscal purposes.[3]

In spite of its defects the monetary system justified the hopes placed in it. Internally it solved the problem of the immobilized funds of the State Bank and Treasury, and externally it stimulated the import of foreign capital into Russian industry to such an extent that during the single year 1898 the amount of foreign capital invested exceeded that of the whole period 1851–92.[4] This method of acquiring foreign capital, besides promoting Witte's plans of industrialization, was more acceptable to him than formal flotations of loans abroad by the Russian Government, which tended to raise doubts as to the true state of Russia's finances. His preference for unobtrusive procedures is also seen in his practice of raising capital by selling Russian securities through the medium of foreign banks and by short-term credit operations.[5] All these transactions were rendered possible by the prevailing confidence in the stability and convertibility of the currency.

A vital question remains to be answered, namely, how Witte managed to accumulate the imposing gold balances which by the end of 1897

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[1] Kashkarov, *op. cit.* I, 170. E. de Montebello to Berthelot, St Petersburg, 12 January 1896, (copy) Arch. Nat. F 30, 330; I. K. Ozerov, *Osnovy finansovoy nauki* (Moscow, 1908), p. 265.

[2] The average length of commercial bills in Russia was 137 days during 1889–94, Gindin, *op. cit.* p. 266, their amount was limited and there were numerous protests, V. T. Sudeikin, *Gossudarstvenny bank* (St Petersburg, 1891), p. 427.

[3] I. K. Ozerov, *Die Finanzpolitik*, in *Die Russen ueber Russland*, J. Melnik, ed. (Frankfurt a. M., 1906), pp. 231 ff.

[4] P. B. Ol' in Sharapov, *op. cit.* p. 66.

[5] Cochery to Hanotaux, 11 June 1897, (draft) Arch. Nat. F 30, 335; Crédit Lyonnais, note on sales of 4% *Rente Intérieure Russe* during February–July 1899, unpubl.

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amounted to 1548·45 million roubles of the new coinage representing an increase of 676·95 million during his administration.[1] A part of this increase can be accounted for by the domestic gold output which during the period 1893–7 amounted to over 239·5 million.[2] An examination of Russia's bullion and specie balance indicates an excess of gold imports of 436·9 million[3] not accounted for by Russia's balance of trade; on the contrary, there had been a definite deterioration in this respect as compared with the export surpluses obtained under Vyshnegradsky. There had been an increase in imports, especially of machinery and metal goods in connexion with the new minister's programme of industrialization.[4] Witte considered this increase a temporary phenomenon only, and believed that within a short space of time Russian industries, provided with the essential materials and equipment from abroad, would be able to satisfy internal demand. He even dreamed of capturing Far Eastern markets for the products of Russian industry. Witte's attitude was certainly more far-sighted and constructive than the rigid and restrictive mercantilism of his predecessor, but, though Witte did score substantial successes with regard to domestic industrial output, demand grew at a faster pace, and it was not until the turn of the century that an industrial crisis stemmed the tide of fast growing imports.[5] Other factors contributing to increases in imports were the tariff reductions consequent upon the Commercial Treaty of 1894 with Germany and the stabilization of the currency which freed importers from fears of loss from the constantly depreciating currency.

At the same time the value of Russian exports fell, although the Minister did all in his power to stimulate grain exports by what has been described as a 'railway Drang nach Osten' and by a railway tariff policy encouraging exports of grain from the newly opened eastern regions.[6] Although Witte succeeded in increasing the volume of grain exports both in absolute figures and as a percentage of the annual harvest,[7] the fall in international grain prices depressed the value of Russian exports, so that the balance of trade deteriorated,[8] and the surplus balances achieved by Vyshnegradsky were, from 1892 onwards, replaced by a deficit.[9]

How then did Witte succeed in bringing the accounts into equilibrium? Above all, how was he able to ensure an appreciable surplus on the bullion

[1] Kashkarov, *op. cit.* I, 226. Included is the gold which went into circulation.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] Zweig, *op. cit.* pp. 156 ff.

[5] According to M. Tugan-Baranovsky, *Russkaya Fabrika* (6th ed., Moscow, 1934), p. 265 the value of industrial output increased by 1,104 million roubles during the period 1893–7, mining industries showing the largest increase. Imports increased from an annual average of 399·19 million paper roubles during 1887–91 to 534·98 during 1893–7, calculated on the basis of Pokrovsky, *op. cit.* p. 141. [6] Lyashchenko, *op. cit.* pp. 269–70.

[7] During 1893–7, 52·9 thousand quarters of grain and 15·7 % of the annual harvest had been exported on the average annually against only 40·7 thousand quarters representing 14·3 % of the average annual harvest during 1887–92 (1 Russian quarter of wheat equalled about 360 lb.; the other grains were somewhat lighter). Calculated on the basis of Pokrovsky, *op. cit.* p. 6.

[8] The average value of grain exports, despite the increased volume, fell from 366·7 million paper roubles per annum during 1887–91 to 337·8 million during 1893–7, and the export surplus fell from an average of 311·2 to 140·0 million paper roubles. Calculated on the basis of Pokrovsky, *op. cit.* pp. 105, 117, 141.

[9] According to P. B. Ol' the deficit on the balance of payments amounted to 96·4 million gold roubles, quoted by Verstraete in his report to Delcassé of 31 March 1898, *loc. cit.*

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and specie balance? An examination of the credit operations of the Russian State abroad explains this. During the period 1893–8 the various credit operations of the Russian Government abroad yielded 1,100 million roubles.[1] Thus Witte could form large credit balances in the name of the State Bank and the Treasury abroad and by drawing bills on its foreign correspondents the government could balance the external accounts and even use part of the credit balances for the purpose of strengthening the gold reserve for monetary purposes.

Likewise the influx of foreign capital into industrial enterprises, which was the basic factor in the industrial expansion of the 1890's, affected the monetary position in the same way as did the flotation of new loans or the sale of old bonds abroad. During 1893–8 approximately 700 million francs of foreign capital were invested in Russian joint-stock companies.[2] Not all this capital entered the country effectively; large amounts remained in the hands of foreign bankers and brokers; also Russians who sold their mines, mills or land to foreigners were often paid in part at least in shares. There is no doubt, however, that a large amount of this capital crossed the frontier effectively. The well-informed Maurice Verstraete believed that the effective capital stood very near its nominal amount.[3] The fact that a portion of this capital entered Russia in the form of machines, tools, raw materials, etc., does not diminish the importance of this capital influx from the monetary point of view as such items were accounted for on the debit side of the balance of trade.

All this foreign capital attracted in one form or another only indirectly contributed to the solution of the monetary problem. Directly, this foreign capital served to increase the productivity of the economy and to develop the dormant natural resources of the country. This applied not only to the credits directly devoted to industrial purposes, but also Russia's state and state-guaranteed debt had been with few exceptions used to increase the country's economic potential, mainly in the construction of railways.[4] Railways stimulated industrial and commercial activity, as did the influx of capital into industrial enterprises; and both contributed to the growth of state revenue. The credits from abroad rendered Russia a double service: they had first been used to strengthen the economy and secondly they contributed to the formation of large, easily realizable funds in gold at the disposal of the government. Furthermore, although Russia's debt increased substantially, there was little increase in the amounts due for the service of this debt as the improvement in Russia's credit abroad made possible the conversion of the public debt, which resulted in the

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[1] Verstraete to Delcassé, 30 March 1899, Arch. Nat. F 30, 332; 1 rouble equalled about 2·66 francs after 1897.

[2] *Ibid.*; the figures given by P. B. Ol' quoted by Sharapov, *op. cit.* p. 66 were twice as high as those given by Verstraete; in 1898 the British had been particularly active mainly in the oil industry and had invested 88·75 million francs out of a total of 359 million.

[3] M. Verstrate, *Les capitaux étrangers engagés dans les Sociétés industrielles* (Paris, 1900), p. 6.

[4] During 1893–8 the railway-net increased from 32·9 thousand km. to 44·6 thousand. *Mirovyye ekonomicheskiye krizisy 1848–1935*, p. 517.

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reduction of the average nominal rate of interest from 4·19 per cent in 1891 to 3·86 per cent in 1902.[1]

Despite the substantial increase in the public debt Russian state credit abroad reached a level never attained before; her 4 per cent gold rente which in 1880 stood below par approached par by 1895 and exceeded it by 1898; the 3 per cent and 3½ per cent gold bonds stood almost as high as the equivalent German bonds.[2] Russian loans lost the speculative character which they had in the main possessed when held by Germans and became 'placements du père de famille'[3] enjoying in the heart and 'portefeuille' of the French *rentier* a place almost equal to that of the French state *rente*. This spectacular success of Russia's credit policy abroad was due on the one hand to the relative abundance of capital on the international money markets and on the other hand to the financial advantages derived by Russia from the alliance with France where the bulk of Russian loans had been placed[4] and whence also came a large part of the capital invested in private enterprise in Russia.[5] The stabilization of the currency and the obvious determination of the Minister to introduce metallic circulation and the productive application of the foreign credits were a factor in strengthening state credit abroad the importance of which cannot be over-emphasized.

Two more factors should be mentioned. The first is the use of publicity through official channels and through the French Press, the 'abominable vénalité' of which proved very useful.[6] The second factor was the skill, bordering on genius, of the Finance Minister. He knew how to avail himself in time of the opportunities offered by the contemporary situation, and accomplished the reform just before the deterioration in the international money market which set in in 1899. By a skilful use of the Treasury balances abroad, those 'principaux pivots de sa politique financière', he could create relative abundance on European money markets when about to float a loan so that 'en dernière analyse l'emprunt russe est couvert au moyen de l'or russe lui-même'.[7]

If all this skill, creative energy and practical sense were essential factors in bringing the monetary reform to a successful conclusion perhaps even

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[1] Helfferich, *op. cit.* p. 14.

[2] *Grosse Politik*, v, Caprivi to Kaiser Wilhelm II, 10 November 1894, and *Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière et Législation* (St Petersburg, 1898), p. 433.

[3] A phrase employed in an unsigned and undated note placed with the correspondence relating to the 3½% Gold Loan 1894 which I attribute to Poincaré, then Finance Minister. Arch. Nat. F 30, 332.

[4] Tugan-Baranovsky, *op. cit.* p. 267; the French Consul-General in Warsaw, in his report of 3 March 1897 quoted above, estimated that out of Russia's foreign debt of 3½ milliard roubles (over 9 milliard francs) about 7 milliard francs were placed in France.

[5] Out of a total of over 2,075 million francs of foreign capital in Russian joint-stock companies, French capital accounted directly for 692·3 million and for another 100 million on account of Belgian capital which represented French investment. Verstraete, *Les capitaux...*, *op. cit.*

[6] A phrase employed by the financial agent of the Russian Government in Paris, Arthur Raffalovich, when reporting on subventions paid to the French Press.

[7] The role of the Treasury's foreign balances and the techniques employed by the Russian Finance Minister are fully described in a report of Verstraete to Delcassé of 18 June 1900. Arch. Nat. F 30, 335.

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greater skill and a more sustained effort was required in the years to come for the purpose of maintaining a sound and stable currency. Before the new productive forces set in motion could enable Russia not only to balance her international accounts without resort to borrowing but also to assure a reasonable standard of living for her population, many years of 'starvation exports' and of heavy taxation lay ahead of her. However, a *sine qua non* of her ability to steer her course through difficult times and emerge as a country with a modern, efficient economic organization, capable of paying her way, was the maintenance of peace.

That Witte himself was fully aware of this is brought out in his report to the Emperor in January 1898 where he stresses the connexion between foreign policy and state finance and issues a warning against 'dangerous fancies' and advises the pursuit of a peaceful foreign policy 'alien to aggressive aspirations'.[1] Furthermore, on the short-term view he was conscious of the dangers to his monetary policy inherent in heavy military expenditure which not only added to the budgetary burden but also represented a drain on reserves of foreign exchange, as much of this military expenditure involved the purchase of military and naval equipment from abroad.[2] Maurice Verstraete's apt comment on Witte in his much-quoted report to Delcassé of 31 March 1898 was that 'En dépit de son tempérament combatif il serait peut-être à l'heure actuelle l'homme le plus pacifique de l'Europe'.

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[1] Report of the Minister of Finance to H.M. the Emperor on the budget of the Empire for 1898, St Petersburg, 1898, p. 12.

[2] Verstraete to Delcassé, St Petersburg, 15/28 March 1902, *Notes sur les finances de la Russie.* Arch. Nat. F 30, 329.

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Russian "Official Antisemitism" Reconsidered: Socio-Economic Aspects of Tsarist Jewish Policy, 1881–1905

DANIEL GUTWEIN

Summary: The respective Jewish policies of Tsarist ministers Witte and Plehve are re-examined through the perspective of their opposing socio-economic policies. The two ministers' rivalry over Jewish policy is considered not to be a reflection of "antisemitic" or "pro-Jewish" sympathies, as that would leave major elements of these policies unexplained; rather, analysis shows it to be a means in their struggle to gain supremacy for their own respective policies regarding the nature and pace of Russia's industrialization. The Russian policy-makers perceived the Jews not only as a religious group; they saw them as a non-monolithic economic entity, and differentiated among the various strata of Jewish society in accordance with the respective influence of each stratum's economic activities on Russian society and economy. Accordingly, the two ministers formulated opposing differential Jewish policies to fit their respective all-Russian socio-economic policies.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The Jewish policy of late Tsarism was characterized by a conspicuous discrepancy between ideology and practice.[1] The making of Jewish policy proved the catalyst for continuous power struggles between rival factions within the Russian administration that supported opposing policies. Orthodox interpretation has borrowed contemporary ideological rubrics and labelled these factions and their policies as "anti-Jewish"

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[1] See the considerable attention paid to this issue in S. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 3 vols (Philadelphia, 1920); L. Greenberg, *The Jews in Russia*, 2 vols in one (New York, 1976); H. D. Loewe, *Antisemitismus und Reakionäre Utopie Russischer Konservatismus im Kampf gegen den Wandel von Staat und Gesellschaft, 1890–1917* (Hamburg, 1978). Also: S. Etinger, "Ha'yesodot Veha'megamot Beitsuv Mediniyuto Shel Ha'shilton Ha'rusi Klapey Ha'yehudim im Khalukat Polin", *Ha'avar*, 19 (1972), pp. 20–34; Etinger, "Takanot 1804", *Ha'avar*, 22 (1977), pp. 87–110. For the years 1881–1917, see M. Aronson, *Troubled Waters: The Origin of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia* (Pittsburgh, 1990), pp. 44–192; A. Goldenweiser, "Legal Status of Jews in Russia", in J. Frumkin, G. Aronson and A. Goldinweiser (eds), *Russian Jewry (1860–1917)* (New York, 1966), pp. 85–109; J. D. Klier and S. Lambroza, *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 3–289; H. Rogger, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986), pp. 1–187.

International Review of Social History 39 (1994), pp. 197–221

https://doi.org/10.1017/S002085900011257X Published online by Cambridge University Press

and "pro-Jewish", respectively. The struggle over Jewish policy is perceived as a component of the overall struggle that divided Russian governing circles between adherents of reactionary Slavophilism – by nature, anti-Jewish – and advocates of a progressive, Western orientation, which was more accommodating to the Jews. Such an ideological contrast, however popular, suffers from conceptual and theoretical inadequacies. It cannot offer a paradox-free model of the relationship between the supposed ideological motives of Tsarist Jewish policy and its real expressions. For instance, it fails to explain the incidence of purportedly "anti-Jewish" and "pro-Jewish" politicians who supported the same Jewish policy, or of "reactionary" politicians who championed a more lenient policy *vis-à-vis* the Jews and of "progressives" whose actions aggravated the conditions of Jewish life.[2]

The most telling inadequacy of the ideological interpretation is found in its analysis of the Jewish policies of two prominent representatives of the rival ideologies: V. K. Plehve, Minister of the Interior, who was commonly considered a reactionary and antisemite; and S. I. Witte, Minister of Finance, a progressive and supposed advocate of more liberal policies toward the Jews.[3] Hans Rogger, a harsh critic of the ideological interpretation of Tsarist Jewish policy, contends that the key to understanding the making of Tsarist Jewish policy lies in the struggle over a socio-economic policy for Russia as a whole.[4] Thus in his account of the Plehve–Witte rivalry Rogger argues:[5]

> The differences between the two powerful ministers ranged from the personal to the political, reflecting as well long-standing conflicts between their ministries

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[2] On the ideological interpretation and its limitations see Rogger, "The Jewish Policy of Late Tsarism: A Reappraisal", in *ibid.*, pp. 25–39 (will be referred to as Rogger, "Reappraisal"); Rogger, "Russian Ministers and the Jewish Question 1881–1917", in *ibid.*, pp. 56–112 (will be referred to as Rogger, "Ministers").

[3] See, for instance, Dubnow, *History of the Jews*, III, pp. 16–17, 67–97, 107–108, 125–127; Greenberg, *The Jews in Russia*, II, pp. 48–52, 103–107; S. W. Baron, *The Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York, 1976), pp. 56, 137–138, 369.

[4] See Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 109–112; this is the perspective which informs Rogger, "Government, Jews, Peasant and Land After the Liberation of the Serfs", in Rogger, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia*, pp. 113–175 (will be referred to as Rogger, "Peasants").

[5] Rogger, "Ministers", p. 78; and cf. H. Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernisation and Revolution, 1881–1917* (London and New York, 1983), pp. 33–34 (will be referred to as Rogger, *Modernisation*). Loewe is of the same opinion: "The Ministry of Finance pursued a course of rapid industrialization. At the same time it was consistently more favourable towards Jews than any other government agency, and it advocated a gradual relaxation of anti-Jewish regulations. The Ministry of Interior tried to block a development along capitalistic lines, or at least to slow down this process, and it was more often than not a proponent of anti-Jewish measures. The bitterness of the conflict between Witte and Plehve has to be seen in this light", Loewe, *Antisemitismus*, p. 294. And Loewe sums up: "Pleves Antisemitismus muss daher als ein integraler Bestandteil seiner politischen Weltanschauung, seiner antikapitalistischen Grundeinstellung gesehen werden. Seine Politik wurde durch eine halbfeudale, agrarische Art von *Staatsräson* bestimmt,

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> over policies and priorities. Finance [. . .] stood for economic development, for putting restraints on the stifling and arbitrary practices of the bureaucracy so that a climate of legality and predictability might be created in which the enterprise and energy of all loyal citizens could bring private and public benefits. Interior was fearful of giving scope to autonomous social or economic forces; it was preoccupied with stability and control, with maintaining the barriers that safeguarded authority and order.

Rogger emphasizes that "These disagreements extended to Jewish matters, as well."[6] However, he encounters serious difficulties in ascribing Witte's and Plehve's Jewish policies to the differences between them in the realm of socio-economic policy. Thus, when trying to explain how in a debate over Jewish policy, they acted contrary to their ideological stereotype, Plehve supporting a "pro-Jewish" policy and Witte opposing it,[7] Rogger speaks of a "curious reversal of roles" between the two ministers.[8] He was well aware of the inadequacy of this interpretation, and so concluded that until Soviet archives made new sources available, no better explanation existed for this paradoxical situation.[9]

The extant sources, it would seem, do contain a sufficient empirical base for interpreting the motivations of the respective Jewish policies of Witte and Plehve in the framework of Rogger's original approach, which correlates the making of Jewish policy with the struggle over Tsarist socio-economic policy. The formulation of a Jewish policy in this period focused mainly on such issues as the future of the Pale of Settlement and the May Laws, which limited the residential rights and occupational opportunities of the Jews. Beside their ramifications for the Jewish population, these issues had far-reaching economic consequences for Russian society as a whole, particularly for the rural sector.[10] The obvious economic effects of any Jewish policy in turn-of-the-

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wahrend Vitte eine moderne kapitalistiche Staatsräson vertrat, die in lezter konsequenz zu bürgerlichen Regierungsformen hin tendierte", *ibid.*, p. 57.

[6] Rogger, "Ministers", p. 78.

[7] See the 1903 confrontation between Witte and Plehve over a request by a Jewish mutual aid association to open a workhouse for indigent Jews in Vilna. Rogger emphasizes that "There were matters at issue here – the police-sponsored unions of Sergei Zubatov (including the Independent Jewish Workers' Party of Vilna), whether association of mutual aid should be allowed, which ministry should supervise them – that did not necessarily bear on the Jewish question, but it was against its background that both sides stated their positions in the debate.", Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 78–79; see, also, E. H. Judge, *Plehve* (New York, 1983), pp. 131–149; T. H. Von Laue, *Sergei Witte and the Industrialization of Russia* (New York, 1969), pp. 251–252; M. Mishkinski, "'Ha'sozialism Ha'mishtarti' Umegamot Bemediniyut Ha'shilton Ha'tsari Legabei Hayehudim (1900–1903)", *Zion*, 25 (1960), pp. 238–249.

[8] Rogger, "Ministers", p. 78.

[9] Rogger, "Reappraisal", p. 25.

[10] See Rogger, "Peasants", and also, I. M. Aronson, *Russian Bureaucratic Attitudes toward Jews, 1881–1894*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Northwestern University, 1973), pp. 141–273.

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century Russia suggest the hypothesis, inherent in the correlative approach, that Witte's and Plehve's stands on the Jewish question were influenced by opposing socio-economic policies, and that the former was a means to attain the latter.

PLEHVE'S JEWISH POLICY

Basing itself on contemporary assessments, accepted scholarly interpretation views Plehve as an ideological antisemite,[11] thus leaving unexplained certain central tenets in his policies that do not fit the antisemitic model.[12] Plehve himself denied any antisemitic motive in his more than two-decade involvement in Tsarist Jewish policy.[13] Referring to the anti-Jewish policies and actions he pursued as Assistant Minister of the Interior,[14] he argued that he had simply been carrying out the policies of his superiors.[15] Accordingly, the present discussion – concerned as it is with motivations – will focus on that period during which Plehve unquestionably did determine policy: between 1902 and 1904, when he served as Minister of the Interior.

The most damning testimony of Plehve's antisemitism concerns his alleged involvement in the 1903 Kishinev pogrom.[16] However, re-examination of the sources in the last decade has led several historians to question Plehve's complicity. Feldman, in the most exhaustive account of Plehve's involvement in the Kishinev pogrom yet published,[17] argues

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[11] Loewe argues that "In der Welt Pleves war kein Platz für die Juden", Loewe, *Antisemitismus*, p. 57.

[12] See, for instance, Y. Maor, "Yehudey Rusia Betkufat Pleve", *Ha'avar*, 1 (1958), pp. 38–40, 43, 47–48; Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 93–101, 104–109.

[13] For Plehve's biography see Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 12–37.

[14] The proof of Plehve's antisemitism during his "bureaucratic" period is of three types: 1) justifications for the restrictions imposed on the Jews as a result of their involvement in revolutionary politics; 2) Plehve's own involvement in the formulation of anti-Jewish legislation during the1880s and his leadership in the early 1890s of an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to make the May Laws more rigorous; 3) responsibility for the pogroms of the 1880s. Save for his uncontested expressions of support for anti-Jewish restrictions, the other evidences are problematic. The principal source for Plehve's reputed responsibility for the pogroms of the 1880s is Witte's memoirs, the credibility of which is clearly questionable particularly when they concern Plehve, Witte's main rival. On Plehve and the pogroms see: Maor, "Jews under Plehve", pp. 38–39; Judge, *Plehve*, p. 94; on the way Plehve is handled in Witte's memoirs see: Rogger, "Ministers", p. 78; A. Feldman, "Pleve Veha'pogrom Bekishinev be-1903", *Ha'avar*, 17 (1970), pp. 140–145. The information regarding Plehve's efforts to extend anti-Jewish legislation in the 1890s is based on Plehve's own admission, on rumors that were spread, and on attempts by other ministers to obstruct such prospected legislation. No archival material exists, however, on this issue. See Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 69–70, 74–76; Rogger, "Peasants", pp. 153–154; Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 23, 25, 94; Aronson, *Russian Bureaucratic Attitudes toward Jews*, p. 61.

[15] Maor, "Jews under Plehve", p. 43.

[16] See, for instance, Greenberg, *The Jews in Russia*, II, pp. 50–52; Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, III, pp. 67–77; Maor, "Jews under Plehve", pp. 43–51.

[17] Feldman, "Plehve and the Kishinev Pogrom", p. 137.

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that the sources are not unequivocal and, therefore, not credible enough to serve as the basis for any certain conclusion. In his opinion,

> the question is still largely an open one. It is most probable that Plehve had some kind of connection to the pogrom. However, the nature of that connection and the extent of his actual involvement in those events is unknown. Certainly, there is no justification for such unrestrained or unqualified pronouncements as Greenberg's that "there is no doubt whatsoever that Minister of the Interior Plehve was the instigator of the pogrom."

Likewise, Rogger contends that although Plehve's moral guilt for the pogrom "is beyond doubt", his legal culpability cannot be established.[18] Judge and Lambroza further indicate that any involvement in the pogrom would have stood in contradiction to the basic principles that guided Plehve's policy throughout his career in the Ministry of Interior: to maintain public order by suppression of all popular demonstrations or violence.[19] This "revisionist" analysis seriously undermines the accepted version of Plehve's antisemitic motivation, and calls for an alternative interpretation of the factors that informed the minister's Jewish policy.

A better insight into Plehve's Jewish policy might be gained through an analysis of the account of the respective interviews he gave to the Zionist leader, Theodore Herzl, and to the Anglo-Jewish "Foreign Minister", Lucien Wolf.[20] Plehve argued that the restrictive nature of Tsarist Jewish policy was justified because the Jews endangered Russia's social fabric and political order. That danger was manifest both in the significant participation of Jews in the revolutionary movement and in the threat that unproductive and exploitive Jewish economic activity posed to the Russian peasantry. For Plehve, the perfect solution to the Jewish problem was civil assimilation,[21] transforming the Jews into patriotic citizens, loyal to the state. However, as the chances for this to happen were small, he saw no point in granting the Jews equal rights or in lifting the residency restrictions embodied in the Pale

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[18] Rogger, "Reappraisal", p. 31; Rogger, *Modernisation*, p. 205. Cf. "Die Behauptung Pleve habe ihn selbst organisiert, ist weder beweisbar noch wahrscheinlich. Warum solte Pleve sich die Finger schmutzig machen, wo es doch andere gab, die seine Wünsche als Befehle auffassten?", Loewe, *Antisemitismus*, p. 65; see also pp. 57–68.

[19] E. H. Judge, *Easter in Kishinev: Anatomy of a Pogrom* (New York, 1992), pp. 125–133; Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 98–101; S. Lambroza, "Plehve, Kishinev and the Jewish Question: A Reappraisal", *Nationalities Papers*, 23 (1981), pp. 117–127; cf. Klier and Lambroza, *Pogroms*, pp. 203–204.

[20] For Plehve's interview with Herzl, see Th. Herzl, *The Diary*, III (Herzl's Collected Writings, IV) (Tel-Aviv, 1960), pp. 315–319; 323–328; for Plehve's interview with Lucien Wolf, see *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, 12 February 1904.

[21] In describing the meeting between Plehve and Herzl, Rogger notes that Plehve remarked: "the ultimate goal for the Jews was assimilation", Rogger, "Ministers", p. 80. However, it should be emphasized that Plehve's comments make it clear that his intention was to a civil integration based on political loyalty to the tsarist regime rather than cultural assimilation: see Herzl, *The Diary*, III, p. 324.

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of Settlement. Under these circumstances, according to Plehve, the government sought the emigration of the Jewish masses. He admitted, though, that the government could do very little in the sphere of emigration. The only possible Jewish policy, Plehve concluded, lay in improving the Jews' economic situation and raising their standard of living. He confessed that economic conditions in the Pale were so bad that they actually justified Jewish revolutionary activity. Still, he thought it possible to change this situation without abolishing the Pale. Employing an argument that might almost be considered a criticism of the restrictive May Laws, Plehve said that although the Pale covered a considerable area, the Jews lived in it as in a ghetto. Thus, he supported a liberalization of Jewish settlement opportunities within the Pale, and even outside it, provided that any injurious effects on the peasantry would be avoided.

Plehve echoed similar ideas in supporting the licensing of a workhouse for indigent Jews in Vilna that had been proposed by a Jewish mutual aid association.[22] He argued that the government had a right to discriminate against the Jews, as the nature of their economic activity, together with their support for revolutionary movements, turned the Jews into enemies of the regime and made them a danger both to the state and to society. He saw the Jewish threat, however, as a direct result of the Jews' economic straits, for which the government was to blame. Therefore, action had to be taken to ameliorate the Jews' economic plight, mutual aid being one such avenue to do so and as such should be encouraged.

These policy declarations were reflected in Plehve's actual role in the area of Jewish legislation, of which favoring the licensing of the Vilna workhouse presents only one example. In May 1903, he enacted legislation initiated by his predecessor, D. S. Sipiagin, abolishing the May Law prohibition on Jewish rural settlement in more than one hundred villages inside the Pale that were no longer deemed agricultural. In December he overturned a prohibition on settlement in fifty-seven additional villages.[23] During discussion of the matter in the Committee of Ministers, Plehve opposed attempts to reduce the number of villages to be opened up to the Jews. On this occasion he articulated the views guiding his policy of a gradual attenuation of the May laws:[24]

> The Jewish population, crowded into the cities, does not have sufficient wages. Impoverished Jews, living in unsanitary conditions, present a danger for public health and order. [. . .] New restrictive measures could make matters still worse.

Plehve continued to work in this spirit to limit the scope of the May Laws.[25] In March 1904, he ordered an end to expulsions of Jews living

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[22] Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 78–79.

[23] Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 79–80; Rogger, "Peasants", pp. 158–159.

[24] Judge, *Plehve*, p. 106.

[25] Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 79–82; Judge, *Plehve*, p. 109.

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in prohibited sections of the Pale, and in June he rescinded the prohibition against Jewish settlement within thirty-three miles of the western border. In July, at Plehve's insistence, the Committee of Ministers excused certain categories of Jews from "unnecessary" and "impractical" regulations; furthermore, the quota of Jewish students accepted by institutes of higher learning was raised. In a meeting with representatives of Russian Jewry in August 1903, Plehve announced that measures to allow both land purchases by Jews within the Pale and the residency of educated Jews outside it were under consideration. The following August, while reiterating his belief that Jewish bankers in the West were financing revolutionary movements inside Russia,[26] Plehve informed the Russian-Jewish banker and philanthropist, Baron Guenzburg, that he would consider instituting these liberal measures and partially revoking the May Laws in exchange for co-operation from Western Jewish bankers.[27]

These were not empty promises, but a clear reflection of Plehve's intentions regarding the Jewish policy that he intended to implement.[28] Indeed, in August 1903, he had requested all regional governors in the Pale to submit their views on the current state of Jewish legislation, an action that constituted a first step toward its revision. He followed this up in January 1904, by appointing a Commission for the Revision of Jewish Legislation. Although the work of the Commission was interrupted by the Russo-Japanese war, the make-up of its membership was such that it would in all likelihood have recommended either a moderation or a complete cancellation of the May Laws.

Plehve's support for the enlargement of the scope of Jewish economic activity within the Pale by moderation of the May Laws was only one side of his Jewish policy; the other side of the coin was a toughening of restrictions on Jewish activity outside the Pale.[29] Thus, he made it more difficult for Jews to purchase land outside the Pale and even rescinded a previous authorization allowing Jewish craftsmen to reside beyond its borders. This duality in Plehve's Jewish policy is convincing evidence that it was directed, not by pro- or anti-Jewish feelings or antisemitic ideology, but by broader socio-economic considerations. The actual and potential economic function of the Jews inside and outside the Pale had direct implications for Russian society at large, as well as for Plehve's policy as a whole. This conclusion becomes clearer still when Plehve's Jewish policy is contrasted with that of his great rival, Minister of Finance Witte.

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[26] Compare to Z. Szajkowski, "Paul Nathan, Lucien Wolf, Jacob H. Schiff and the Jewish Revolutionary Movement in Eastern Europe", *Jewish Social Studies*, XXIX (1967), pp. 3–26, 75–91.

[27] Loewe considers this statement as "Handel mit Menschenrechten", Loewe, *Antisemitismus*, p. 56.

[28] Rogger, "Ministers", p. 82; Rogger, "Peasants", p. 159; Judge, *Plehve*, p. 109.

[29] Mishkinski, "State Socialism", pp. 246–247; Rogger, "Ministers", p. 79.

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WITTE'S JEWISH POLICY

Jewish policy as such was never included in Witte's ministerial responsibilities, whether as Minister of Finance or as holder of other ministerial posts.[30] Therefore, the principal source for his views on Jewish matters lies in his own declarations; additionally, there are a small number of instances when Witte did participate in formulating Jewish policy.

Witte's Jewish policy was arrived at by an analysis similar to Plehve's, but with opposite conclusions.[31] The Jews, Witte argued, constituted a permanent danger to the Tsarist regime because they were central to the revolutionary movements. Blaming the government for this situation, he emphasized that the revolutionary ardor of the Jews was a result of and reaction to the economic hardship, the administrative harassment, and the legal discrimination to which they were subjected. The only practical solution to this situation was to improve the Jews' living conditions, which meant gradually granting them equal civil rights. An essential aspect of Witte's Jewish policy was the emphasis he had put on the slow and gradual pace of the equalization process in regard to Jewish legal and political rights. He envisioned the course of implementing the reforms that would finally result in Jewish emancipation as a decades-long, if not centuries-long, process; it would all begin with the government's desisting from any new discriminatory legislation.

Witte's occasional participation in the making of Tsarist Jewish policy focused on its economic aspects, as a facet of both Russian socioeconomic policy and Russia's financial standing in the international money market. He consistently opposed anti-Jewish persecution, arguing that it portrayed Russia as a backward country and, thus, thwarted the treasury's efforts to raise loans in Western money markets and hindered the attraction of foreign, particularly Jewish, capital to Russia. Witte also disapproved of restrictions placed by both local and central authorities on Jewish capital, such as the prohibition against Jewish settlement in Siberia.[32] At the same time, while opposing proposals to bar Jews from becoming members in the Moscow merchants guild, he was helpful in instituting that exclusion in order to avoid a confrontation

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[30] For Witte's political biography, see Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*; H. D. Mehlinger and J. M. Thompson, *Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution* (Bloomington, 1972). In evaluating Witte's Jewish policy allowance should also be made for the traditional Jewish policy of the Finance Ministry: "In der Judenfrage hatte das Finanzministerium immer schon eine liberale Haltung eingenommen. Vittes unmittelbare Vorgänger Bunge und Vysnegradskij verhinderten durch Intervention beim Kaiser von Ignatev und Pleve geplante Verschärfungen der restriktiven Judengesetzgebung", Loewe, *Antisemitismus*, pp. 43–44.

[31] A. Feldman, "Ha'minshar Miyom 17.10.1905, Ha'rosen Vite Vesheelat Ha'yehudim Berusia", in A. Yavin (ed.), *Sefer Raphael Mahler* (Merchavia, 1974), pp. 122–124, 137, 150; Greenberg, *The Jews in Russia*, II, pp. 105–108; Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 84–88.

[32] Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, pp. 187, 206; Rogger, "Ministers", p. 86.

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with the governor-general of Moscow, Grand Duke Sergei.[33] Likewise, although acknowledging the anticipated beneficial effects of the Vilna workhouse, Witte opposed its licensing with the argument that it would entail a political risk. It would promote the popular impression that government policy favored the Jews; moreover, it would induce additional requests of a similar nature, which would be difficult to refuse after the Vilna precedent.[34]

Witte's most significant role in Jewish legislation came with the introduction of the state liquor monopoly in the Pale of Settlement. In a memorandum to Alexander III,[35] Witte contested that the Jewish liquor trade was invariably connected to interest-bearing loans, the preferred business activity of the Jews.[36] Control of the liquor trade gave the Jews a powerful mechanism, with which they exploited the peasants; and he went on to blame Jewish tavern-keepers for the chronic depravation and devastation that had overtaken the Russian peasantry. However, Witte emphasized that the peasant problem could not be solved by oppressive anti-Jewish legislation that violated property rights and, in the end, damaged the economic interests of Jews and non-Jews alike. Only measures that were designed to protect the peasants as well as to improve the moral character of the Jews, while also encouraging their eventual assimilation, would address the problem. An example of such a step, according to Witte, was the introduction of the state's liquor monopoly into the Pale of Settlement. This measure would end the destructive effects of the Jewish liquor traffic and ameliorate political problems resulting from the alien (i.e. Jewish) presence in the Pale. Witte's proposal was accepted. With the extension of the state's liquor monopoly into the Pale, 200,000 Jews lost their livelihood, increasing by half the official number of Jews without any defined occupation.[37]

THE DEBATE OVER SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY

The analysis of their respective Jewish policies shows Plehve's not to have been anti-Jewish or Witte's to have been pro-Jewish and, thus, points to the inadequacy of the accepted ideological interpretation of their positions on Tsarist Jewish policy. That interpretation emanates from a common notion of the two ministers' respective *weltanschauung* as well as of the causes of the rivalry between the Interior and Finance

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[33] Feldman, "Witte and the Jewish Question", p. 131; Greenberg, *The Jews in Russia*, II, p. 106.

[34] Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 78–79.

[35] Rogger, "Peasants", pp. 155–156.

[36] Cf. Herzl, *The Diary*, 10 August 1903, III, p. 320.

[37] Rogger, "Peasants", p. 156.

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Ministries over Russian socio-economic policy.[38] According to this conception, the Finance Ministry was the bastion of Western modernism, economic development, and social change, whereas the Interior Ministry represented Moscovite traditionalism, economic stasis and social conservatism. These characterizations, however, are rooted in a contemporary polemic of politically interested groups, rather than in scholarly research. Their easy application to the popular stereotypes of "progressive" and "reactionary" led to the uncritical adoption of these characterizations in analyses of the Jewish policy of late Tsarism, as well.[39] Any historical or economic test of this version of the differences between the Finance and Interior Ministries reveals – as in the case of Jewish policy – its inadequacy to serve as interpretative framework for explaining basic differences in the policies pursued by the two ministries. There are, however, alternative interpretations – found in the contemporary debate as well as in the scholarly literature – of the rivalry between the Interior and Finance Ministries, and between Plehve and Witte in particular, over socio-economic policy that deserve a closer look.

Writing early in the century, the Russian economist P. P. Migulin indicated that two avenues of industrialization were open to Russia:[40] accelerated industrialization fueled by foreign capital, or organic, gradual industrialization growing out of accumulated savings in the Russian economy. In comparing the relative advantages of the two systems, Migulin advocated the adoption of a policy of accelerated industrialization, to close the gap between Russia and the West. He admitted, however, that from a purely economic point of view, a more gradual process would be both cheaper and more lasting in the long term. Migulin's contemporary, Professor I. Kh. Ozerov, posited a similar set of alternatives for Russia's industrialization, but opted for the second model.[41] Ozerov believed Russia's process of industrialization had to be an organic and graduated one, similar to England's: beginning with handicrafts and developing through light industries to heavy industry, all in parallel with the development of a domestic market. The disagreement between Migulin and Ozerov encapsulated what was, at the turn of the century, a "ferocious" debate in the upper echelons of

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[38] Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 78–79.

[39] Witte himself presented this opposition in such terms. See S. Witte, *The Memories of Count Witte* (ed. A. Yarmolinsky) (New York, 1921), pp. 191–192, 209, 237–249, 273. On the acceptability of this explanation for contemporary observers, see E. J. Dillon, *The Eclipse of Russia* (London, 1918), pp. 112, 118–119; A. Ular, *Russia from Within* (London, 1905), pp. 135–136. On the acceptability of this explanation for modern scholarship, see Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, pp. 95, 252; Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 8–11, 38–92.

[40] Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, p. 146. See also the chapters "Sergej Vitte und das Finanzministerium (1892–1903): Eine Kapitalistische Gegenposition zum gouvernementalen Antisemitismus", Loewe, *Antisemitismus*, pp. 40–48, and "Das innenministerium unter V. K. Pleve: Feudaler Antikapitalismus und repressive Judenpolitik", *ibid.*, pp. 49–51.

[41] Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, pp. 289–290.

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the Russian government over how to modernize Russia's economy and society.[42] The two opposing concepts of industrial policy will be referred to below as the mercantilist school, whose proponents were concentrated in the Ministry of Finance, and the organic school, based in the Ministry of the Interior.

The fundamental assumption of the mercantilist school, advocating accelerated and even forced industrialization, was that in order to remain a world power, Russia had to close the technological-industrial gap with the West as fast as possible, a gap that had been progressively widening throughout the nineteenth century.[43] It was obvious, though, that Russia lacked even the elementary conditions requisite for such industrialization, in particular the necessary capital and an entrepreneurial class. In order to circumvent these obstacles and to reach the industrial level of the Western powers in the shortest time, the mercantilist school proposed an integrated model whose stages would progress in an opposite order from what had transpired in the West. According to this model Russia's industrialization would be initiated by the creation of an infrastructure of heavy, mainly metallurgical industries, whose products would guarantee Russia's strategic global standing and make possible the acquisition of raw materials for the construction of a strategically and economically needed rail network. The next stage would encompass the development of lighter industries and the production of consumer goods. This stage would ultimately effect increased productivity in the rural economy and create a domestic market for already-existing industries.

The crux of the mercantilist model, then, was that the role filled in the West by the bourgeois entrepreneurial class would be assumed in Russia by the state bureaucracy. In addition, the state should make an effort to attract entrepreneurs and investors from abroad by granting concessions and guaranteeing prices, means that would also be used to encourage indigenous entrepreneurial potential. As Russia's retarded agricultural economy could not generate the necessary capital accumulation essential for building modern heavy industry, the adherents of accelerated industrialization thought that this capital demand should be met by government action, namely, by raising foreign capital, either

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[42] K. C. Thalheim, "Russia's Economic Development", in K. G. Katkov (ed.), *Russia Enters The Twentieth Century* (London, 1971), pp. 85–110.

[43] On the mercantilist school see S. Witte, "Save Russia by Rapid and Forceful Industrialization", in A. E. Adams (ed.), *Imperial Russia after 1861* (Boston, 1968), pp. 49–59; Ular, *Russia from Within*, pp. 144–167; V. I. Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past* (New York, 1967), pp. 57–61; J. P. McKay, *Pioneers for Profit* (Chicago, 1970), pp. 3–40, 78–79; O. Crisp, *Studies in the Russian Economy before 1914* (London, 1976), pp. 98–110, 136, 176; Mehlinger and Thompson, *Count Witte*, pp. 20–24; P. Liashchenko, *History of the National Economy of Russia* (New York, 1949), pp. 534–538, 560–563; Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, pp. 22–35, 76–77, 90, 101–114, 137–146, 179–187, 218, 270; Rogger, *Modernisation*, pp. 102–109.

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through state loans or private investments. The chances of attracting foreign capital, the mercantilist school maintained, depended on an appropriate environment encouraging Western trust in Russia's repayment capacity, the stability of the ruble, and the state of the Russian economy in general. Thus, a budget surplus and a favorable balance of payments were essential prerequisites for industrialization. The latter was to be financed by a favorable balance of trade; the export surplus would pay for the large amounts of capital that would be imported.

Achieving these goals necessitated adequate monetary and fiscal measures. Monetarily, the mercantilist school preached and ultimately succeeded in introducing the gold standard into Russia, a move involving massive gold purchases in order to establish an adequate reserve. Fiscally, accelerated industrialization entailed a strict tax policy for financing the budget surplus, gold purchases and interest payments to the West. This fiscal policy meant a heavy tax burden, principally on the agricultural sector, which encompassed approximately 80 per cent of the Russian population. The heavy taxation impoverished the Russian village, denying it purchasing power and preventing not only the development of a domestic Russian market, but even the minimal level of investment necessary for keeping agricultural production at its current levels. Such a condition, and even periodic famines, however, were considered by the mercantilist school as a price worth paying for the accelerated industrialization necessary to secure Russia's standing as a world power. Along with increased government revenue, high taxation was designed to force the peasants to sell their wheat at low prices. This would achieve two goals: a continuous supply of Russian wheat to the Western European market – guaranteeing, in turn, a steady flow of foreign currency into Russia – and reduced wages for industrial labor, making Russia more attractive to foreign investors. Protectionism was another aspect of the mercantilist fiscal policy. It was needed to promote a favorable balance of trade and artificially sustain a demand in the domestic market for the products of an otherwise inefficient domestic heavy industry.

The program of the mercantilist school became Russia's economic policy during the reign of Alexander III and the first half of that of his successor, Nicholas II. During this period, from 1892 to 1903, Witte, the theorist and instigator of accelerated industrialization, served as Minister of Finance.[44] A prominent aspect of Russia's economic policy under Witte was the fierce resistance he faced from the domestic-market-oriented organic school and, in particular, Plehve. Plehve had been a leading opponent of accelerated industrialization since the 1890s, and

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[44] This conception is the crux of Von Laue's work: Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*; see, also, P. Gatrell, *The Tsarist Economy, 1850–1917* (New York, 1986), p. 236 n. 8.

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according to Witte's biographer, Von Laue,[45] "[. . .] more than any other single man, was responsible for Witte's downfall. He embodied all the forces that opposed the Minister of Finance".

The organic school criticized the mercantilist policy for causing the government, in serving both as entrepreneur and principal consumer, to nurture an inefficient, artificial, heavy industry for whose products there was no demand.[46] Proponents of the gradual industrialization particularly emphasized the heavy price paid by the Russian economy, mainly the rural sector, for the policy of accelerated industrialization. In order to encourage heavy industry, the government, "enslaved" as it was to foreign capital, pursued monetary and fiscal policies whose main effect was the destruction of the agricultural sector and the domestic market. The organic school preached a policy of encouraging light industry, relying principally on the existing capital accumulation in the Russian economy, in conjunction with the development of the rural economy. A growth in the purchasing power of the village and its emergence as a market for consumer industry products, they claimed, would encourage the domestic market, an essential condition for future industrial development. These considerations informed the organic school's opposition to the establishment of the gold standard in Russia. Its adherents were leery of the strict fiscal policy that the gold standard dictated and, more generally, of its deflationary effects that would hurt the development of the domestic market. They demanded, instead, an inflationary monetary policy – a silver standard, bimetalism, or paper money – which would provoke monetary expansion, cheapen credit and devalue the ruble. This meant, *inter alia*, encouraging and facilitating the activity of small-scale entrepreneurs who lacked access to Western or even Russian capital markets. This policy would also strengthen the competitive position of Russian wheat exports in the West and increase the amount of rubles paid to the agricultural sector. Fiscally, the organic school argued, both direct and indirect taxes could be lowered by abandoning the policies of accelerated industrialization and the gold standard, thus further bolstering the purchasing power of the agricultural sector. It also demanded the transfer of part of the tax revenues from the central government to local authorities in order to encourage the rural economy by financing of local development projects. Protectionism, championed by the mercantilist school in order to serve heavy industry, was opposed by the organic school. Lowered import duties were deemed

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[45] Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, p. 202; Gurko, *Features and Figures*, pp. 107, 201, 219, 227–233; Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 29, 50–51, 80–81.

[46] On the organic school, see Gurko, *Features and Figures*, pp. 227–233; Ular, *Russia from Within*, pp. 141–152; Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, pp. 62, 122, 135–159, 168–177, 201, 220–221, 276–290; Crisp, *Studies in the Russian Economy*, pp. 98–99, 137–142, 159–196; Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 38–92; Gatrell, *The Tsarist Economy*, pp. 12–20.

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necessary to cheapen the imported, mainly German, means of production, and to encourage their acquisition by the peasants and small-scale entrepreneurs. Anticipated reciprocal measures by the German government would open up the German market – then impenetrable because of a customs war between the two countries – to Russian agriculture and light industry. The purpose of all these measures was to increase the income of the agricultural sector, enabling it to invest in its own productivity and strengthen its purchasing power. The result would be the emergence of a domestic market, a precondition for the development of a consumer industry and a class of small-scale entrepreneurs, in both the rural areas and towns. Although focusing on economic policy, the debate between the organic and the mercantilist schools had a great many ramifications for different spheres of Russian life, from regional government to foreign policy.[47] For the present analysis of the Jewish policy there is special significance to the social and ideological facets of this debate.

The mercantilist school's accelerated industrialization policy was meant to effect, and actually introduced, widespread social change in Russia, and it essentially caused a redistribution of economic and political power.[48] The mercantilist policy proved detrimental to those sectors of Russian society that depended on the domestic market: the various strata of the peasantry, the gentry,[49] merchants, middlemen and suppliers of services to the rural population, and industrial producers of consumer goods and machinery for agriculture.[50] The organic school, in effect, represented the interests of this variegated group; and, indeed, its more politically-oriented elements – the gentry, merchants and industrialists – led the opposition to Witte. Witte's authority derived from a rival assembly of social forces that came into being, or gained greater economic and political power, as industrialization accelerated. These forces included the high aristocracy and those sections of the bourgeoisie that participated in accelerated industrialization: owners of concessions, entrepreneurs, and managers, particularly those involved in the stock exchange and in banking activity connected to foreign capital markets,

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[47] See, for instance, Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 122–174, 62–92; Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, pp. 145–162, 239–248.

[48] G. T. Robinson, *Rural Russia under the Old Regime* (Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 132–133; Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 8–9, 64.

[49] Witte differentiated between the high and low aristocracy. While viewing the gentry as an enemy, he sought an alliance with the high aristocracy, both because he needed their political support and because he viewed their wealth as an appropriate basis on which to constitute a class of industrialists. Accordingly, he pursued a policy that actively attempted to divide these two sections of the aristocracy, see Gurko, *Features and Figures*, pp. 60–61; Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, pp. 120–140.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–187.

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the professional and technical class, the state bureaucracy, and certain parts of the intelligentsia.[51]

The diverging sociological profiles of the respective power-bases of these rival schools, and the opposed interests they represented, were clearly reflected on the ideological level. Proponents of the organic school presented their policy as defending traditional Russia, in particular, as serving the interests of the agrarian majority.[52] Theirs was a vision for preserving or, rather, saving the social order of rural Russia, based as it was on the village and the aristocracy, and the traditional values that were coming under growing threat with the advance of capitalism. Decrying the commercialization and expansion of the market society in Russia, they warned against domination by foreign capital and the penetration of Western values and non-Russian patterns of political and social behavior. As such, they opposed modernism, constitutionalism, and social change. Therefore, the organic school's attack on accelerated industrialization and its social consequences was conducted under the banner of an anti-Western, Moscovite-Slavophile ideology, one having a distinct anti-Jewish component. Proponents of the organic school deplored the conspicuous role played by Jews, mainly Jewish financiers – whether Russian subjects or foreigners – in Russia's industrialization and criticized the heavy Jewish presence amongst Witte's advisors.[53] This critique of the Jews' role in accelerated industrialization, in combination with its Moscovite-Slavophile ethos, served to stereotype the organic school not only as reactionary, but antisemitic as well. Indeed, Witte characterized Plehve as a Jew-hater, and charged that he was the guiding spirit behind the anti-Jewish policies of late Tsarism. Witte specifically accused Plehve of both direct and indirect responsibility for the Kishinev pogrom. Here one finds the basis of the ideological analysis of the Jewish policies of Witte and Plehve as being a contrast between a Western-oriented, pro-Jewish policy and a Moscovite, antisemitic policy.

This ideological distinction between Witte and Plehve was further buttressed by viewing Russian economic history during this period in terms of Gerschenkron's theory of relative backwardness. Drawing largely from Russia's experience, Gerschenkron argued that the industrialization process undergone by backward countries required that the state, using mercantilist policies, fill the role assumed in the West by

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[51] Gurko, *Features and Figures*, pp. 60–65, 201–203; Ular, *Russia from Within*, pp. 136–139, 163; Mehlinger and Thompson, *Count Witte*, pp. 54–55; on the high aristocracy see note 47.

[52] See notes 44 and 45.

[53] An unequivocal spokesman for this view was Pobedonostsev, see R. F. Byrnes, *Pobedonostsev* (Bloomington, 1968), pp. 282–357, 104–107, 130–131, 187–191, 202–209. See also the chapter "Im ideologischen Spiegel der alten Elite: Die Juden als Speerspitze des Kapitalismus", in Loewe, *Antisemitismus*, pp. 23–29.

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private enterprise and the free market.[54] Russia obviously lacked these Western institutions; therefore, accelerated industrialization through state intervention was not only one possible track for Russian industrialization, but the only applicable model, and those who opposed it should be perceived as opposed to industrialization. This interpretation casts the debate between the mercantilist and organic schools as a struggle between economic development and modernism, on the one hand, and economic stagnation and reaction, on the other.

An alternative interpretation of Russian industrialization is suggested by Kahan, who challenged Gerschenkron's theory.[55] In Kahan's view, the fact that Russia actually underwent accelerated industrialization did not prove that this was the only avenue of industrialization open to it. Witte's policy, he contended, was actually detrimental to Russia's economic development in the long run. Monetary and fiscal policies – principally the heavy taxation and the government's successful competition with the private sector for loanable funds – not only froze the private sector out of industrialization; it also prevented the formation of conditions necessary for durable industrialization, in particular the creation of private demand and domestic markets. Kahan's critique of the process of accelerated industrialization is consistent with the argument made by the organic school. Moreover, his contention that the Russian experience did not obviate the existence of an alternative path of industrialization – like that advocated by the organic school – suggests that the confrontation between the mercantilist and organic approaches was not between reaction and progress, but between two opposing versions of modernization.

The prevailing ideological interpretation of the rivalry between Russia's Ministries of Interior and Finance, and between Plehve and Witte, is further undermined by an analysis of the anticipated economic results of their respective policies. Despite its anti-Western bias, the organic school actually endorsed a Western-style model of industrialization, i.e. gradual industrialization paralleling a developing domestic market. Economically, the agrarian Slavophilism of the organic school was not autarkic or protectionist in nature, nor was it directed against economic relations with the liberal industrial West. On the contrary, the organic school's objection to accelerated heavy industrialization and its counter-demand to develop the agricultural sector and Russia's consumer industries went hand-in-hand with the critique of protectionism and the

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[54] A. Gerschenkron, *Economic Development in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 5–51. See also Gatrell, *The Tsarist Economy*, pp. xi–xiii, 8–9, 231–234, 235 n. 1.

[55] A. Kahan, "Government Policies and Industrialization in Russia", *Journal of Economic History*, XXVII (1967), pp. 460–477; A. Kahan, "Capital Formation During the Period of Early Industrialization in Russia, 1890–1913", in P. Mathias and M. M. Postan (eds), *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. 7, part 2 (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 265–307.

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insistence that Russia exchange goods with the West, selling agricultural and light industry products and purchasing heavy industry goods. In other words, the organic school envisioned Russia's integration in the international market through its participation in the world division of labor. It sought to base Russia's relationship with the international market principally on the export and import of goods rather than on raising loans in Western capital markets and paying interest. Ironically, it was the mercantilist school that championed, in almost a Slavophilic spirit, a different, particular Russian model of industrialization. It pursued a policy of autarkic protectionism and economic nationalism that rested on Russia's separation from the international division of labor and establishment of its relations with the world economy mainly on financial grounds.[56]

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE RUSSIAN JEWISH ECONOMY

Interpreting the clash between Witte and Plehve as that over the nature of Russian modernization might also free the analysis of Tsarist Jewish policy from ideological misconceptions. A more adequate and relevant theoretical framework might be supplied for testing the manifestations and motivations of the "official antisemitism" of late Tsarism. To understand the relationship of Witte's and Plehve's Jewish policies to the broader economic doctrines of the mercantilist and organic schools, the structure of the Jewish economy in Russia and its relationship to the debate over Russian economic policy should be analyzed.

Scholars disagree about the nature of the economic structure of Russian Jewry.[57] The two antithetical views in currency are best articulated by the respective interpretations of Leshchinsky and Kahan. Leshchinsky contends that the changes wrought by capitalism and the industrialization of Russia exerted mainly negative effects on Jewish economic life, the most outstanding results being pauperization and

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[56] There were additional differences between the two schools which belie ideological illusions. For instance, the organic school fought to restrict the power of the central bureaucracy and supported extending the authority of provincial government bodies, such as the Zemstvos, which served as "schools for democracy". In contrast, Witte was committed to preserving autocratic power as a vehicle for instituting his desired changes. He warned that investing the Zemstvos with greater authority was alien to the Russian spirit, an idea imported from England and the West which would eventually bring with it constitutional government. See J. Walkin, *The Rise of Democracy in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (London, 1963); Von Laue, *Sergei Witte*, pp. 157–167; Judge, *Plehve*, pp. 38–92; Gurko, *Features and Figures*, pp. 78–81, 122–128; Mehlinger and Thompson, *Count Witte*, pp. 24–25.

[57] For a general survey on the Jewish economy in Russia, see I. M. Dijur, "Jews in the Russian Economy", in J. Frumkin, G. Aronson and A. Goldinweiser (eds), *Russian Jewry (1860–1917)* (New York, 1966), pp. 120–143.

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class polarization.[58] Like its effects on the Christian population, capitalization of the traditional Russian economy induced a far-reaching transformation of Jewish economic and social life. There was, however, an essential difference in how the two populations responded and adapted to capitalism and industrialization. The non-Jewish population underwent a process of proletarization; namely, those – mostly the peasants – no longer able to find a livelihood in their traditional occupations were absorbed by the emerging modern industry. The Jews, on the other hand, because of political, social and religious factors, were unable to integrate into the industrial economy. In contrast to the proletarization of the peasantry, Jewish middlemen who were pushed out of their traditional occupations underwent a process of non-proletarization and pauperization. Instead of entering modern industries, the Jews increasingly depended for their livelihood on craft manufacturing, carried on in the sweat-shop system, where their exploitation worsened as competition with industry increased. This anomalous adaptation, or rather non-adaptation, of Russian Jewry to industrialization had a clear class expression, as well: the near-total absence in Jewish society of the two principal classes of an advanced capitalist society, industrial bourgeoisie and proletariat. Failing to develop a hold on industry after being dispossessed of their traditional sources of income, the Jewish commercial bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie – which had included the majority of Jewish society in the pre-capitalist era – were concentrated in marginal, retarded sectors of the economy, where they experienced rapid pauperization. The principal market for their commercial and craft services, furthermore, were the non-Jewish peasants, who were also undergoing a process of impoverishment and whose demand was diminishing. At the same time, the Jewish class structure became highly polarized; alongside the impoverished masses there existed a relatively small stratum of large-scale Jewish entrepreneurs. This class was active in sectors of the economy characterized by great dependence on government demand and on government intervention such as banking, finance, transportation, basic infrastructure industries, mining, and oil production. Concomitant with its affluence this stratum became increasingly estranged – economically, socially and nationally – from the rest of Jewish society.

Kahan paints a far more complex, dynamic picture of the changes overtaking Jewish society and economy in Russia at the turn of the century.[59] In contrast to Leshchinsky's emphasis on the Jews' inability

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[58] See Y. Leshtzinski, *Der Idishar Arbeitar (in Rusland)* (Vilna, 1960); Leshtzinski, *Ha'tfuza H'yehudit* (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 93–96. Cf. Y. Peled and G. Shafir, "Split Labor Market and the State: The Effect of Modernization on Jewish Industrial Workers in Tsarist Russia", *American Journal of Sociology*, 92 (1986–1987), pp. 1435–1460.

[59] A. Kahan, *Essays in Jewish Social and Economic History* (Chicago, 1986), pp. 1–69 ("The Impact of Industrialization in Tsarist Russia on the Socioeconomic Conditions of the Jewish Population"), 82–100 ("Notes on Jewish Enterpreneurship in Tsarist Russia").

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to integrate into the industrial economy, Kahan claims that there was also a segment of Jewish society that did successfully integrate into Russia's industrialization process. This was particularly evident in the activity of a small class of Jewish entrepreneurs – and here Kahan includes elements that Leshchinsky had located in the high and middle bourgeoisie – whose business activities underwent several transformations in accordance to the development of capitalism in Russia. These entrepreneurs operated on a scale too large for the limited markets of the Pale of Settlement. In the pre-industrial era, this meant that they had depended on state demand. Their involvement with the government meant that their economic activity possessed distinct political traits. As industrialization proceeded and the market developed from a regional into an all-Russian market, these Jewish entrepreneurs turned increasingly to the private sector and were able to lessen their dependence on the government. Outside of this small class, the majority of the Jews – bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie alike – found their living in trade and craft production whose emphasis was on the consumer goods sector, rather than on capital goods sector. Thus,

> in the area of trade we find a preponderance [of Jews] in foodstuff, in agricultural products, and in undifferentiated retail (and also some wholesale) trade. The role of the Jewish trader as a middleman for rural clients and for the lower classes of the urban areas is still very much in evidence, dominating the picture, while Jewish traders in manufactured consumer goods were fewer and were concentrated in the large cities.

Like Jewish entrepreneurial activity, Kahan explains, Jewish commerce and craft production also underwent several changes in reaction to the progress of capitalization and industrialization. The emergence of a non-Jewish local merchant class and the market's loss of its previous regional character – both of which were facets of the modernization process – meant a greatly reduced need for the Jewish merchant's intermediary role. Furthermore, the purchasing power of those segments of the population that Jewish commerce and crafts served, Jewish and rural non-Jewish, dropped considerably. Kahan's analysis of Jewish class relations accentuates their interdependence, again in contrast to Leshchinsky's emphasis on the chasm between the classes. The upper bourgeoisie, according to Kahan, driven as much by economic considerations as by notions of Jewish national solidarity, contributed toward the creation of new employment opportunities for the dispossessed Jewish masses. In focusing on the decrease of the Jewish upper bourgeoisie's dependence on government demand as industrialization progressed and in emphasizing that, economically, Jewish solidarity transcended class differences, Kahan has explicitly rejected Leshchinsky's efforts to define a correlation between class stratification and occupational patterns in Russian Jewish society.

Despite these differences – which are essentially a transposition of the polemic between Gerschenkron and Kahan into the sphere of Jewish

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economic history – Kahan's and Leshchinsky's accounts share an essential common denominator. They both perceive the Jewish economy in Russia as having been divided into two sectors, differentiated by respective sources of income. One sector was connected to government demand and concessions; the other was based on private demand and, in particular, the purchasing power of Jewish and rural society. This bi-sectoral structure of the Jewish economy in Russia and its ramifications for Russia's economy and society provide the key to an understanding of the respective stands of the mercantilist and organic schools – and, thus, of Witte and Plehve – in the making of the Jewish policy of late Tsarism.

The two Jewish economic sectors had differential influences on the implementation of the policy of the two rival economic schools that split the Russian ruling elite. Jewish businessmen were essential to accelerated industrialization in their role as international financiers, concessioners, and contractors. At the same time, Jewish merchants and craftsmen were the main entrepreneurial-capitalist element within the Pale of Settlement, particularly in the rural areas; as such they made a clear contribution to the development of the domestic market and had a great interest in increasing the purchasing power of the population in the Pale. The effect of the bi-sectoral Jewish economy on the Russian economy and on the struggle over the making of Russia's socio-economic policy explains the intense interest that the Jewish policy provoked amongst Tsarist politicians. Indeed, for them, the concept of "Jew" as an object of policy-making, particularly economic policy – affected either by legislation or administrative directive – had no exclusively religious-cultural or any singular meaning. In their Jewish policy, both the mercantilist and organic school distinguished between the two sectors of the Jewish economy and treated those sectors in accordance with the anticipated contribution that each could make to the economic goals of their respective policies.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND JEWISH POLICIES

On the basis of this analysis of the structure of the Jewish economy in Russia and of its relationship to the struggle over Russian socio-economic policy as waged between the mercantilist and organic schools, the respective Jewish policies of Witte and Plehve can now be explained free of the contradictions that accompany the ideological interpretation. The mercantilist school sought by means of its Jewish policy to make maximum use of those forces in Jewish society that could facilitate its vision of accelerated industrialization, particularly by having them take on functions that no stratum of native Russians were able to fill. This explains its interest in facilitating Jewish entrepreneurial activity and the activity of the Jewish professional and technical intelligentsia both inside and outside the Pale of Settlement, as manifested in its liberal

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attitude toward these classes. Such a policy was pursued on the assumption that these elements would directly contribute to the managerial-technical needs of industrialization; in addition, they would serve as a bridge to the financial community in the West, particularly to Jewish financiers. The primary expression of these considerations was the consent given for activity by these elements outside the boundaries of the Pale. Thus, Witte – who developed personal relations with Jewish financiers and entrepreneurs[60] – worked to ease the restrictions on Jews who pursued activities that benefited accelerated industrialization.

Yet, financiers and entrepreneurs whose economic activity contributed to accelerated industrialization comprised but a small minority of Jewish society; the majority consisted of merchants and craftsmen, whose livelihood not only remained dependent on the domestic market but contributed to its development. The economic activity of the vast majority of Russian Jews was, therefore, diametrically opposed to the policies of the mercantilist school. The Jews' actual as well as potential contribution to the development of the domestic market explains why the mercantilists made no special effort to rescind or amend the May Laws or to alleviate residency restrictions in and outside the Pale of Settlement. On the contrary, since the Jews formed the major element able to serve as the agent of capitalization in the villages of the Pale, restrictions on both residence and economic activity suited the interests of the mercantilist school. Similarly, maintenance of the Pale prevented an influx of Jews into rural Russia, a process that would almost certainly have enhanced the capitalization of the village and a developmental surge in domestic markets.

These considerations found clear expression in Witte's Jewish policy. He opposed any immediate abolition of the Pale of Settlement, save for residential concessions for those elements considered valuable to accelerated industrialization. He also objected to lifting the restrictions governing the Pale itself and sought to limit the capitalist activity of the Jews who lived there. This was the motivation for Witte's most

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[60] Rogger, "Ministers", p. 86. A revealing example of Witte's connection with Jewish financiers in Russia and the West was his relationship with the Rothschilds. Witte was on friendly terms with Alphonse de Rothschild in Paris with whom he regularly sought counsel on political and economic issues. Witte provided tangible help to the Rothschilds in gaining control of Russian oil, which was important both to Russian industrialization and to the strategic business interests of the Rothschilds. The mediator between Witte and the Rothschilds was another Jew, Adolph Rotstein, who, in addition to managing a bank in St Petersburg which was associated with the Rothschilds, served as Witte's principal economic advisor and took an active part in executing the policy of the mercantilist school. The Rothschilds purposefully employed Jews in their dealings in Russia. See M. Graetz, "Yozma Yehudit Beyemey Ha'mahapekha Ha'taasiyatit Ha'sheniya: Kenisat Ha'rotshildim letaasiyat Ha'neft Ha'rusit", *Zion*, 50 (1985), pp. 355–378; A. A. Fursenko, "Parishkie Rosthschildi i russkaia nepht", *Voprosi Istorii*, 8 (1962), pp. 29–42. On the Jewish role in the Russian oil industry, see also H. Landau, "Jews in the Russian Oil Industry", *YIVO Bleter*, 14 (1939), pp. 269–285.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S002085900011257X Published online by Cambridge University Press

prominent intervention in Jewish policy, replacing the Jewish liquor trade with a state monopoly. While restricting the economic activity of the majority of the Jews in pursuit of its socio-economic domestic program, the mercantilist school also understood that these restrictions – or rather persecutions – detrimentally affected a no less important condition for its success: Russia's image in the West. A continual flow of investments and loans to Russia from the West depended, *inter alia*, on Russia's reputation as a socially stable and enlightened country, where the rule of law would protect investments and profits and guarantee loan repayments. Just as the permanent infusion of foreign capital was immanent to accelerated industrialization, so too was the liberal image of its proponents. For the sake of that reputation, the mercantilist school – most conspicuously, Witte and his predecessors in the Finance Ministry, Vishnegradsky and Bunge – opposed the more brutal aspects of Tsarist Jewish policy. Opposing the physical oppression of the Jews enhanced the liberal image of the mercantilist school. Its proponents sought not to provoke the ire of Jewish financial circles in the West, which had assumed an active role in financing loans and investments in Russia partly as an outgrowth of their special relations with Russian Jewish financiers.[61] Witte considered this issue to be of the utmost importance. He went to great lengths to suppress any overt anti-Jewish activity that was liable to bring an outcry from the West; he even engaged public relations agents in France to shore up Russia's, and his own, personal image in the eyes of French investors;[62] and he repeatedly promised leading Jewish financiers tangible improvements in the conditions of Jewish life in Russia.[63]

Thus, Witte's Jewish policy contained two facets: support of restrictive measures on the economic activity of most of Russia's Jews, in accordance with the priorities of the mercantilist school and the accelerated industrialization policy; and an insistance that not only should these steps not appear as a deliberate policy of discrimination, but that there be no persecution of the Jews. Most contemporary observers thought that Witte pursued a genuine liberal attitude toward the Jews. It was, though, the Zionist leader, Herzl, who pointed to the duality of Witte's Jewish policy by complaining that though Witte had been in power for years, he had actualy done nothing for the Jews and only pretended to be pro-Jewish.[64]

The Jewish policy of the organic school reflected the opposite dilemma and, as such, was also of a dualistic nature. Placing development of the rural economy and the domestic markets at the crux of its policy,

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[61] Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 74–75; see also, C.C. Aronsfeld, "Jewish Bankers and the Tsar", *Jewish Social Studies*, XXXV (1973), pp. 87–103.

[62] Mehlinger and Thompson, *Count Witte*, p. 24.

[63] Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 87–88.

[64] Herzl, *The Diary*, III, p. 322.

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the organic school could not but view the Jews, theoretically, as a positive economic force within the Pale of Settlement; thus, it should have welcomed the advantages of Jewish economic activity once the Pale was opened up. When it considered the longer term, however, this school apparently perceived a contradiction between the development of the rural economy and the emergence of the Jews as central to that development. In order to ensure that the modernization of the Russian village would be a durable process, the organic school thought, it had to be generated by "authentic" – that is, Christian – elements in Russian society. Accordingly, the policy of this school aimed to encourage the peasantry to develop a capitalist, commercial, entrepreneurial class from its own midst. In order for this to happen, the rising Christian rural capitalistic class had to be protected from the competition of the commercially more experienced Jews. This concern to secure optimum conditions, and mainly the necessary time, for the development of an indigenous capitalist class in the Russian village, and not anti-Jewish feelings as such, accounts for the organic school's refusal to open up the Pale and allow the Jews to settle freely all over Russia. As to Jewish economic activity in the Pale itself, two different attitudes were in contradiction within the organic school: one was that this activity should be restricted in order to encourage the development of an indigenous capitalistic class there; the other was that Jewish activity within the Pale's borders, where the Jews had constituted the capitalist class for generations, should not be hindered. Plehve's Jewish policy was a fair reflection of these considerations within the organic school, and he clearly held the latter attitude. He attempted to encourage Jewish economic activity within the Pale by weakening the May Laws or by authorizing the Vilna workshop. At the same time, he opposed canceling the restriction on Jewish residence outside the Pale. Moreover, since any assisting of the policy of accelerated industrialization was to be avoided, Plehve sought to restrict the activity outside the Pale of Jewish professional classes capable of participating in the development of heavy industry.

CONCLUSIONS

Reviewing the respective Jewish policies of Witte and Plehve through the perspective of their socio-economic policies makes possible a more adequate interpretation of those policies. In contrast to the ideological interpretation, which explains the rivalry over Jewish policy as a contest between Slavophilic reaction and Western progress, the two ministers' opposing Jewish policies can now be seen as a means in the struggle between the mercantilist and organic schools of economic thought over the nature and pace of Russia's industrialization. Thus, Witte's support of anti-Jewish measures and Plehve's advocacy of pro-Jewish regulations

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are not paradoxical; rather, these Jewish positions are consistent with their opposing socio-economic policies and they served as a means of realizing those policies.

This political interpretation of the Jewish policy of late Tsarism may better explain the anti-Jewish nature of that policy, which has been labeled as "official antisemitism". According to its proponents, "official antisemitism" was designed to defend Russian society, particularly the peasant, from the Jewish "exploiter" and revolutionary.[65] Its most conspicuous element was the preservation of the Pale of Settlement, a policy basically supported by both Witte and Plehve and their respective schools. This common support for the central element of "official antisemitism", however, does not prove that when it came to the Jews, Witte and Plehve saw eye to eye on a single anti-Jewish policy originating in a common antisemitic heritage and transcending their ideological differences and political rivalries. Analysis of their Jewish policies from the socio-economic perspective reveals any purported consensus to be illusory. Rather, common elements employed in the Jewish policies of both ministers were actually the product of opposing motivations and purposes, which usually bred differences in the socio-economic policies of the two schools. It might further be concluded that Russian policy-makers perceived the Jews, first and foremost, not as a religious but as an economic entity. Nor did they view the Jews as a monolithic economic group but differentiated among the various strata of Jewish society in accordance with the influence of the Jews' economic activities on Russian society. They then formulated a Jewish policy to fit their all-Russian socio-economic policy.

The debate between the two schools over socio-economic policy affected Russian Jewry beyond the making of Jewish policy, serving as a fruitful perspective for analyzing other aspects of Russian Jewish history, as well. At the turn of the century, it was the politics of the mercantilist school, headed by Witte, that prevailed and so set the priorities of Russia's socio-economic policy. Thus, whereas the ideological rhetoric of Witte and his school was "pro-Jewish", the success of their policy of accelerated industrialization impaired the development of domestic markets and the purchasing power of the peasantry, which detrimentally affected the scope of Jewish economic activity. Moreover, the impoverishment of the Russian village generated in part the socio-economic conditions that would inflame the turn-of-the-century pogroms. Contrary to the accepted view, then, it was Witte's mercantilist, "pro-Western" policy that undermined the economic and political conditions of the masses of Russian Jewry. These masses did not include the more influential segments of bankers, financiers, concessioners and entrepreneurs, who benefited from the accelerated industrialization and

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[65] Rogger, "Ministers", pp. 109–112.

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who contributed to Witte's pro-Jewish image, as well as to Plehve's anti-Jewish reputation. Again, contrary to the accepted view but consistent with Kahan's interpretation, it can be hypothesized that a broader economic base and activity scope for the majority of Russian Jews would have ensued had the organic approach and its emphasis on the domestic market prevailed, in spite of this school's Slavophilic ideology.[66]

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[66] Cf. Kahan, "The Impact of Industrialization", p. 25.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S002085900011257X Published online by Cambridge University Press

PERGAMON

History of European Ideas 25 (1999) 179–206

History of European Ideas

www.elsevier.com/locate/histeuroideas

The Hegelian antisemitism of Bruno Bauer

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Received 2 January 2000; accepted 20 January 2000

Keywords: Hegelianism; Antisemitism; Judaism; Jews; Emancipation; Marxism

1. Introduction

Bruno Bauer (1809–1882) is neither a well known nor an easily accessible author.[1] Despite playing a significant role in both the evolution of Hegelianism and in nineteenth century controversies about the historical Jesus, Bauer has suffered the ignominious fate of being best known to modern readers as one of the targets of the innumerable polemics of the young Karl Marx. This has scarcely facilitated an understanding of his work. Marx is frequently a poor guide to the thought of those he is criticising, not only because he sometimes misdescribes their work, but also because he typically takes his audience's familiarity with his critical targets for granted.

Bauer was a prolific writer (as Marx caustically put it "Herr Bruno is known to make a bulky work out of the tiniest semblance of a thought"), whose rather unpredictable literary career can be divided into three periods [2,3]. In the first of these, Bauer followed a largely conventional academic career path on the Hegelian right; from this position, he moved rapidly, around 1840, to a left Hegelian stance which proved incompatible with employment at a German university; finally, from the mid-1840s onwards, he gradually developed an idiosyncratic and pessimistic conservatism, in which he was supported precariously by his writing, editorial work, and family.

It is the middle period of Bauer's intellectual development, the left Hegelian phase, which provides my subject matter here. In particular, I am concerned with Bauer's discussion of Jewish emancipation in his pamphlet *Die Judenfrage* and in *Die Fähigkeit*

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[1] The standard biographical work remains [1].

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PII: S0191-6599(00)00003-6

der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden, his contribution to Georg Herwegh's important volume *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz* (both published in 1843). The term "Jewish emancipation" is used here to refer to the question of whether, and under what conditions, states should remove the discriminatory legal constraints to which Jews, but not the majority population, were subject.[2]

Bauer's discussion of this aspect of 'the Jewish question' (itself a term popularised by the title of his pamphlet) provoked a large number of German contemporaries into print.[3] In addition to Marx, Bauer elicited responses from several better-known contemporary disputants, including the "true socialist" Karl Grün and the theologian Friedrich Wilhelm Ghillany. Less predictable, and of greater significance, was the large and diverse group of highly distinguished German Jews who chose to reply to Bauer's work. They included Abraham Geiger, Mendel Hess, Samuel Hirsch, Gustav Phillipson, Gabriel Reisser, and Gotthold Salomon.[4]

Any explanation of the considerable, albeit short lived, impact of Bauer's writings on Jewish emancipation should not neglect the form and timing of his intervention. Bauer was an accomplished polemicist and he selected the targets of his abuse with care. Consider, for example, his curt dismissal of Moses Mendelssohn as having helped "neither humanity nor his own people" [8, p. 83].[5] (Mendelssohn, the hero and embodiment of the Haskalah, was a man whose life was widely thought by contemporaries to have demonstrated "that even a Jew could be a philosopher and a man of high personal virtue" [9]). Moreover, Bauer's intervention came at a time when a series of events, both in Prussia (such as the vote in the Provincial Diet of the Rhine province in support of removing civil and political restrictions on Jews) and the wider world (including the reappearance of the ritual murder charge in Damascus), had combined to provoke renewed interest in "the Jewish question".[6]

My concern here, however, is with the content of Bauer's middle-period writings on "the Jewish question". In particular, in what follows, I attempt to clarify Bauer's understanding of the nature of Judaism, the historical role of the Jews, and the complex relation between contemporary Jewry and meaningful liberty. I would hope that such clarification might illuminate not only the immediate impact of Bauer's polemic but also the evolution of antisemitism in Germany, the diverse character of left Hegelianism, and the intellectual development of the young Marx. However, these subjects fall beyond the explicit remit of this article.

Clarifying Bauer's account of the Jewish question is not a straightforward task. Throughout his left Hegelian phase, Bauer's views are obscured both by the rhetorical form of his prose, full of apostrophising and provocation, and by his lack of care and consistency in argument. Indeed, in places, Bauer appears to revel in this lack, as if it somehow betokened a more emphatic radicalism. Moreover, the modern scholarly literature is not always of assistance. Some recent accounts have, in my view, understated the antisemitism of *Die Judenfrage* and *Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden*, and failed to acknowledge the difficulties that his Jew-hatred creates for their characterisations of Bauer as a liberal.[7]

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[2] On this term, see [4,5].

[3] On the origins of this phrase, see [6].

[4] On Jewish responses to Bauer, see [7].

[5] English translations from *Die Judenfrage* largely follow the 1958 typescript of Helen Lederer, and I am indebted to the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati for providing me with a copy of her work. I am also very grateful to Lawrence S. Stepelevich and Hans-Martin Sass for providing me with a copy of Bauer's original text.

[6] On these events, see [10,11].

2. The Nature of Judaism

Given Bauer's notoriety as an atheist, and indeed encouraged by some of his introductory comments, one might expect *Die Judenfrage* and *Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden* to be preoccupied with a denunciation of religion in general. That expectation is reinforced by descriptions of Bauer's subject matter which appear in the modern scholarly literature.[8] However, although the relation between religion and freedom is addressed by Bauer, it does not form the predominant concern of either of these works.

In *Die Judenfrage*, Bauer characterises his subject as one which other critics have proved too timid to tackle, namely the nature of the Jews and whether that nature is "compatible with liberty" [8, p. 2]. His treatment of this twofold issue is dominated less by a hostility to religion and to religious believers in general, than by a strident and deeply-held contempt for Judaism and Jews in particular. In his discussion of "the Jewish question", Bauer does not typically propound a homogeneous and negative view of religion but differentiates, in a striking and provocative manner, between the relative merits of Judaism and Christianity.

Bauer's account of Judaism reveals not only a lack of sympathy but also a lack of knowledge. His biblical knowledge may have been considerable but his understanding of post-biblical Judaism was limited and flawed. In particular, Bauer appears to have been highly dependent on Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's *Endecktes Judentum* (first published in 1700). Eisenmenger was undoubtedly a skilled linguist, and had consulted a wide variety of relevant source material — he references some 132 talmudic, midrashic, and rabbinic, texts — however, he carefully selects passages, shorn of their wider textual, intellectual, and historical, context, solely in order to substantiate a series of familiar Christian charges against the theology of Judaism and the morality of the Jews.[9] Against all evidence, Bauer judges this influential, highly contentious, and irredeemably hostile, compendium to be a "work of solid theological scholarship" [8, p. 86].[10]

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[7] For recent characterisations of Bauer as a liberal, see [12,13].

[8] For example, Yoav Peled claims that "Christianity did not fare any better than Judaism in Bauer's two essays", see [14].

[9] On Eisenmenger, see [15–17].

[10] The title of Bauer's own *Das entdeckte Christentum* (published, or at least seized by the censor, in 1843), of course, alludes to Eisenmenger's compendium.

Bauer emphasises three supposed characteristics of Judaism as a religion. Judaism, he asserts, is a religion which "does not teach universal truths", but rather gives "positive" commandments, which are, in turn, interpreted casuistically [8, p. 12]. That is, Judaism is an exclusive, positive, and hypocritical religion.

First, and perhaps most importantly, Bauer endorses the claim that Judaism is an exclusive or particularistic religion in a sense that Christianity is not.[11] Bauer appeals to his earlier "Old Testament" studies — and in particular his *Herr Dr. Hengstenberg. Kritische Briefe über den Gegensatz des Gesetzes und des Evangeliums* published in 1839 — as demonstrating conclusively that biblical Judaism does not teach "universal love for one's fellow man and morality" [8, p. 30]. "To the Jew", Bauer elaborates, "only another Jew is his brother and neighbour" [8, p. 31]. He reluctantly concedes that biblical Judaism promoted charity towards strangers, but insists that, for Jews, strangers always remain precisely that, an unfamiliar and foreign element. Bauer's dubious strategy for dealing with the further counterexamples that he considers — such as the messianic belief that "Jehovah" (sic) will ultimately reveal himself as "the God of all nations and receive them into his community" — is to characterise them as "inconsistencies [*Inkonsequenzen*]" whose only effect is to illuminate and emphasise the characteristic exclusiveness of Judaism [8, p. 32].

The purported contrast here is with Christianity, a religion whose universality is claimed to break with "Jewish exclusiveness [*jüdischen Ausschließlichkeit*]". The Christian "God of Love", Bauer claims, "does not discriminate among the nations but accepts into his kingdom everyone who accepts the true faith" [8, p. 17]. Bauer's procedure is again a dubious one. Not least, he ignores the historical openness of Judaism to conversion, albeit not to proselytising, whilst simultaneously glossing over the significance of faith in Christianity. As some Jewish contemporaries, including the great German-Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz, were to note, the universality of Christianity does not appear so unqualified when one considers that the individual salvation it promises is dependent on a revelation which has been bestowed only on a minority of humankind.[12] At times Bauer goes beyond the characterisation of Judaism as an exclusive rather than universal faith, suggesting that Judaism is actively hostile to universality. Judaism, he claims at one point, is an exclusive religion which embodies a "war against humanity" [8, p. 79].

Second, Bauer claims that Judaism is a "positive" religion, in the pejorative Hegelian sense that it lays down rituals and rules which are to be accepted on authority and not because they are either rational or coherent with the life and traditions of adherents [8, p. 42]. Judaism, Bauer insists, regards its own laws as arbitrary, that is "as something alien, inexplicable, as the will of 'Jehovah', an order which is not connected at all with the nature of the circumstances in which it was given" [8, p. 36]. Critical reflection on the nature of religious claims, he asserts, is discouraged by Judaism; the non-religious origins of particular dietary laws, for example, are never to be examined or questioned. All that is required of the adherents of Judaism, on Bauer's account, is an unthinking obedience to "unintelligible and arbitrary commands" [8, p. 37].

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[11] This claim was accepted by nearly all contemporary Hegelians. Nachman Krochmal (1785–1840), who portrayed the Jews as the bearers of universality in his Hebrew treatise *Morah Nevuchei Ha-zman* [*The Guide to the Perplexed of Our Time*], may be the lone exception. See, for example, [18–20].

[12] For a spirited rejection of the notion of Jewish particularism, see [21].

Third, Judaism is claimed to have a "chimerical" and "hypocritical" character. Bauer suggests that because its laws cannot be obeyed literally (this is the sense in which they are deemed "chimerical") its adherents develop strategies for maintaining the appearance of obedience (it is this concern for the appearance of obedience, in the absence of literal compliance, that Bauer characterises as "hypocritical"). There is an interesting equivocation in Bauer's elaboration of this claim, an apparent uncertainty concerning the question of whether this purported characteristic of Judaism is a foundational one (and therefore reflected in the Hebrew Bible) or a later accretion (mainly embodied in the post-biblical literature which Bauer treats as coextensive with the Talmud).

At times, Bauer implies that the chimerical character of Judaism is a result of its presupposing a national life which was subsequently lost. Thus he claims that at the heart of post-biblical Judaism is an attempt to maintain a moral code whose social and political presuppositions no longer exist. For example, on Bauer's account, the biblical "Mosaic code" prescribes an order of priests and certain sacrificial rites which "could only be effective if there were a sovereign state", that is to say, which are "entirely impossible now" [8, p. 24]. He suggests that faced with such impossibilities, Jews resort to all manner of sophistry in order to maintain the appearance of obedience. For Bauer, this is precisely the context in which to understand the role of the Talmud, which represents a "Mosaism that has lost its foundations". Bauer dismisses the Talmud as a "mindless and chimerical code … a collection of shards and splinters picked up by the rabbis after a historical revolution which they did not bring about had shattered the old" [8, p. 27].

However, elsewhere, Bauer appears reluctant to endorse the claim that the chimerical character of Judaism was a later accretion rather than a foundational characteristic, since this might be perceived as lending support to those contemporary Jews who affirm that the "Mosaic law" (rather than the Talmud) provided their basic moral doctrine. (It is not entirely clear whether Bauer is thinking of the maskalim or of the Reform movement here.)[13] In order to disable that argumentative strategy, Bauer counters that even in the historical context of the Jewish state many of the doctrines of the "Mosaic code" still had a chimerical character. He insists, for example, that the prescriptions in the Pentateuch regarding the egalitarian division of property — the same prescriptions which were regarded by Moses Hess, Bauer's left Hegelian contemporary, as evidence of the significant affinity between "Mosaism" and socialism — should be regarded as just so many "arithmetical fantasies" [8, p. 41].[14] Similarly fantastical, Bauer asserts, was the purported relation between national life and the Temple; "only in a fairy world [*Wunderwelt*]", he remarks, "could all males leave their homes to celebrate the holy days in Jerusalem and leave the frontiers undefended" [8, p. 41]. Bauer concludes that the strategy of appealing to the "Mosaic code" as the foundation of Jewish virtues, far from removing the suspicion that Judaism has a chimerical character, simply provided a further demonstration that "these virtues are indeed in very bad shape" [8, p. 25].

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[13] The Maskalim were rather less hostile to the Talmud than contemporary opponents typically suggested. See [22].

[14] For Hess' account of the affinity, see [23].

With a little effort at reconstruction, these two positions could, no doubt, be reconciled. Bauer's considered position, it might be suggested, is that the collapse of the national life of the Jews compounded the already chimerical character of the basic moral doctrine of Judaism. Actual obedience to the law, he could then insist, was always to some degree impossible, but, with the disappearance of the Jewish state, theoretical obedience — variously characterised, by Bauer, as "casuistry, sophistry, musings" — came completely to dominate Jewish religious practice [8, p. 42]. This "theoretical" rather than literal obedience is, for Bauer, at the root of Jewish "hypocrisy". He gives as an example of such "hypocrisy" the employment, by Jewish families, of a Christian servant (the Shabbos goy) to work on the Sabbath [8, p. 43]. Bauer designates such practices as "Jewish Jesuitism", a "Jesuitism" which, in explicit contradistinction to its Christian counterpart, he condemns as "clumsy and repulsive", and as demonstrating only an unsophisticated "animal cunning" [24, pp. 180–181].[15]

3. The Historical Role of the Jews

Bauer's characterisation of the nature of Judaism (as an exclusive, positive, and hypocritical religion) plays some part in his account of its historical role. Bauer's view of this latter topic is perhaps clearest in his discussion of the relation between Judaism and Christianity.

Bauer subscribes to what he describes as the "orthodox" account of the relation between Judaism and Christianity, according to which the two religions stand, respectively, in a relation of "cause" and "consequent" [8, p. 15]. However, Bauer is not simply endorsing the neutral claim that Christianity arose out of, and was subsequent to, Judaism. His orthodoxy insists that "Judaism was the preparation for Christianity and Christianity the completion and perfection of Judaism" [8, p. 45]. That is, Judaism and Christianity stand not in some simple causal relation but in a developmental framework of preparatory ground and completion. Judaism, on Bauer's account, can be called "an uncompleted, unfinished Christianity", and Christianity can be characterised as "a Judaism which has effected its own completion" [8, p. 45].

At one point, Bauer describes the relation between Judaism and Christianity as analogous to that between mother and daughter. The point of this analogy is not only to make vivid the conflict between the two religions — thus, as the daughter is

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[15] English translations from *Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden* are by Michael P. Malloy, from the translation which appeared in *The Philosophical Forum*, 8 (2–4) 1978, pp. 135–149.

"ungrateful" to her mother, so, in turn, the mother refuses to "acknowledge" her daughter — but also to suggest the notion of an historical progression between generations. There are two striking features in Bauer's account of this historical progression. First, the daughter (Christianity) has "the higher right", has "progress" on her side [8, p. 16]. Second, it appears that the mother (Judaism) and daughter (Christianity) cannot both survive; "the new", Bauer insists, "cannot be if the old endures" [8, pp. 15–16]. Both of these claims require some elaboration.

The basis of Bauer's first claim that Christianity, relative to Judaism, has a "higher right", that is, has progress on its side, although contestable, is reasonably clear. As a good Hegelian, Bauer associates historical development with the progressive actualisation of "universality". Moreover, as shown above, Bauer asserts that the superiority of Christianity over Judaism consists in its more "embracing conception of mankind" [24, p. 184]. Bauer contrasts the claims of "the family, the race, the nation" which purportedly make up the moral universe of Judaism, with the Christian proclamation of "the freedom and equality of all men" [24, p. 183 and p. 190]. He does not, of course, claim that Christianity fully realises this universality (such a claim would not leave much of a historical role for his own atheism), but rather that it recognises it. For Bauer, it is the Christian recognition of "universal love" which constitutes its superiority to Judaism and its affinity with historical progress.

Bauer's second claim, that Judaism and Christianity cannot both survive, is not meant to suggest merely that the full development of the "new" (Christianity) requires its victory over the "old" (Judaism). Rather Bauer is making the much stronger claim that it is a requirement of historical progress that the old should not survive this defeat. Bauer's explanation of the purported necessity of the demise of Judaism is far from transparent, but one Hegelian thread in his answer is reasonably clear. Historical development, on this account, consists in the progression from less adequate to more adequate embodiments of freedom. Such a pattern is exemplified in the supposedly "orthodox" account of the relation between Judaism and Christianity. Moreover, in this transition from a less adequate to a more adequate entity it is assumed that anything of value in the less adequate entity (Judaism) is incorporated in the more adequate entity (Christianity). Finally, the rationale for the existence of an entity (or at least a non-contingent entity) is taken to be dependent on whether it has anything of independent value to contribute to historical progress. As a result, less perfect entities have no rational licence for continued existence as soon as more perfect entities have arrived on the historical scene.

It is Bauer's commitment to something like this account which provides one justification for his hostility to contemporary Judaism. This Hegelian narrative suggests that, having contributed to historical progress by giving rise to Christianity, there no longer remains any rationale for the continued survival of Judaism. Indeed Bauer concludes that the very existence of the Jews constitutes a "wrong [*Unrecht*]" [8, p. 34]. The central difficulty that Judaism creates for such an account, of course, is that, despite its "completion and perfection" in Christianity, its adherents have stubbornly refused to recognise their role as historically exhausted [8, p. 45].

Bauer's characterisation of Judaism and its historical relation to Christianity provides the context in which to understand his account of the nature of the Jews. For

Bauer, at least in these "middle works" (he would later change his mind and adopt a more "racial" definition), Jews are defined as such by their religious commitments.[16] Only the Jew who "confesses his religion" is "still a Jew" [8, p. 74]. Not only is a baptised Jew no longer a Jew, but even a sufficiently heretical Jew (like Spinoza) is not to be considered, on this account, a Jew [8, p. 9].[17] (Bauer's occasional reference, in these middle-period writings, to Jews as a "tribe [*Stammes*]" or a "nation [*Nation*]" is meant to suggest only that they constitute a culturally distinct group, with its own norms, language, and "way of life".) [8, p. 4]. Accordingly, it is Bauer's characterisation of Judaism which motivates much of his account of the nature of Jews.

In particular, it is the "exclusiveness" of Jews which Bauer judges to be their most foundational characteristic. This "exclusiveness" is generated by their commitment to the claim (on which, for Bauer, their whole religion is based) that "they were the chosen people" [8, p. 14].[18] Bauer variously equates the election of Israel with the idea of "exclusiveness", with a spurious belief that the Jews were "the only true nation, the nation to which the whole world would belong", and with "the idea of special destiny, the kingdom, in short the chimera of the most enormous privilege" [8, pp. 29–30]. The idea of privilege and the nature of the Jew, he concludes, are, as a result, irremediably "intertwined" [8, p. 30].

Bauer appeals to this notion of "exclusivity" in order to explain a number of other characteristics that Jews purportedly possess. He suggests that the belief that they are God's chosen people explains, for example, the "conceit and arrogance" of Jews [8, p. 39]. It also explains the cruelty demonstrated in earlier wars between Jews and their adversaries. What has been called Jewish courage turns out, on Bauer's account, to be not the genuine courage displayed, for example, by the Greeks and Romans, but rather evidence of "bestiality", of an animal "rage to annihilate" an adversary which was judged to have "no right to exist" [8, p. 39]. In particular, the "exclusivity" of the Jews supposedly motivates and thereby explains their "tenacity", their "stubbornness" in clinging to their religion and resisting "the movements and changes of history" [8, pp. 4–5].

This tenacity of the Jews is repeatedly emphasised by Bauer. Confronted with a conflict between the continued existence of the Jews and a philosophy of history which predicted their demise, Bauer never seriously questions the latter. It is the tenacity of the Jews which he denounces as contrary to "the first law of history", namely the human tendency to evolution and progress [8, p. 5]. When Bauer refers to the "oriental nature" of the Jews, he is, of course, simply using the convenient and pejorative Hegelian shorthand for this unchangingness and resistance to "progress" [8, p. 11].

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[16] This religious definition of what it is to be a Jew (despite its acceptance by the Reform movement) was, of course, highly contentious, not least amongst contemporary Jews. Graetz, for one, not only insisted on the national dimension of Jewish identity, but even denied that Judaism was a religion at all (understanding the latter to involve claims about the relation between the individual and God).

[17] Spinoza had, for reasons that are still disputed, been named in an order of *herem* or "excommunication" in 1656.

[18] On the doctrine of the election of Israel, see [25].

At one point, Bauer makes the extraordinary statement that since the completion of the Talmud "the Jews have had no history" [8, p. 82]. This assertion is not intended to suggest that Jews have been wholly unaffected by change, but rather that they no longer contributed to historical progress (indeed he describes the Jews as having, at least from the beginning of the Middle Ages, opposed that progress). Bauer is forced to acknowledge, for instance, that German Jews may have been caught up in the contemporary longing for freedom, but he insists that it would be laughable to describe them as having "stimulated or supported" the historical struggle for meaningful liberty [24, p. 188].

That the Jews lack "an ability to develop with history" is no trivial failing for a Hegelian, not only because historical development reflects the progress of freedom, but also because, as suggested above, the historical rationale for the existence of an entity is its continued contribution to that progress [8, pp. 10–11]. Building on the Hegelian association of freedom and truth, Bauer restates his insistence that the historical contribution of Judaism lies in the distant past in terms of the development of truth. He accepts that Judaism once reflected a stage in the development of "truth", but insists that the truth is not "forever unchangeable" and has since moved on [8, pp. 80–81]. The Jews, in refusing to be "assimilated" by history, in proving reluctant to function as so much "fertile soil [*fruchtbare Boden*]" for subsequent truths, are thereby guilty of the serious crime of stubbornly refusing to play the supporting role allotted to them in this Hegelian narrative [8, p. 81].

Bauer finds confirmation of the radically non-historical nature of the Jews in his denial of any specifically Jewish contribution to the progress of Western civilisation. In elaborating this denial, Bauer insists that Jews have failed to make any significant contribution to either political or scientific advancement in Europe.

Bauer appeals to the historical evidence provided by the contrasting examples of Spain and Poland as demonstrating that Jews have never had "a very beneficial influence on the life of states" [8, p. 5]. Bauer rejected the suggestion that the decline of Spain as a major power was a result of the expulsion of its Jewish population, and insisted that its subsequent liberation from an oppressive Catholic government provided confirmation that political progress no longer required any Jewish contribution [8, pp. 5–6]. In addition, the fact that the "most imperfect state of Europe" (Poland) has a Jewish population equal to the rest of Europe put together is deemed to be of special significance [8, p. 7].[19] That the Jews chose overwhelmingly to make a home for themselves in, what Bauer characterises as, "a state which to a great extent is no state", is claimed to provide further confirmation of their inability to become members of a "real state" [8, p. 7].

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[19] Of a European Jewish population of some one and three quarter million, at the turn of the eighteenth century, just over one million lived in Poland, where they enjoyed a significant degree of communal autonomy. On Polish Jewry, see [26].

For Bauer, the failure of Jews to contribute to artistic and scientific progress is also confirmed by historical evidence. Indeed, he suggests that Jews are constitutionally unsuited to these spheres of human endeavour, their lack of the relevant talents explained as a product of their inability to rise above a "selfish and hypochondriacal [*egoistischen und hypochondrischen*]" concern for narrow personal interests [8, p. 49]. Bauer has a twofold strategy for responding to obvious counterexamples: either, he denies the merit of the contribution, or, he rejects the classification of the contributor. The first tactic is used, for example, against Moses Maimonides, whose "unclear, confused and servile sophistry" is contrasted unfavourably with the supposed rigour and insight of the late medieval Christian scholastics [8, p. 83]. The second tactic is adopted, for example, against Spinoza, who, Bauer insists, was "no longer a Jew when he created his system" [8, p. 9].

The case of Spinoza provides an interesting illustration of a significant change that occurs in Bauer's views. In both his middle-period and his later writings, Bauer consistently maintains the claim that Jews are incapable of serious intellectual insight. What alters is his definition of what it is to be a Jew, and, as a result, his assessment of intellectual merit in particular cases. In the middle-period writings, when Bauer is operating with a religious definition of what it is to be a Jew, Spinoza is judged to be an original thinker but not Jewish. However, in his late-period writings, Bauer, reflecting and contributing to the newly emerging literature of racial antisemitism (itself a term which was introduced in Germany in the late 1870s), adopted a biological definition of what it is to be Jewish.[20] On this racial account, propounded, for example, in *Das Judenthum in der Fremde* (published in 1863), Jews possess a "different kind of blood" from the peoples of Christian Europe, and it is this characteristic which makes their assimilation impossible and justifies their exclusion from political life. On this racial definition, Spinoza has to be categorised as a Jew, but — in order to maintain the claim that Jews are incapable of intellectual insight — Bauer now judges him to be an entirely unoriginal thinker.[21]

In the light of this purported failure of the Jews to contribute significantly to political or scientific advancement, Bauer concludes that it would be a serious error to admire Jewish tenacity. He suggests that the essential difference between early European tribes and the Jewish people is that the former, unlike the latter, had a "malleability" which enabled them to contribute to historical development [8, p. 10]. There is, Bauer insists, no dishonour in contributing, and then succumbing, to progress. We do not, he observes, admire Greek mountains above the ancient Greek world just because the former have survived unchanged whereas the world of Homer, Sophocles, Pericles and Aristotle, has disappeared [8, p. 12]. Jewish tenacity, Bauer concludes, far from being admirable is a "selfish tenacity" which attempts to deny "the true consequences of historical development" [8, p. 33].

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[20] Between 1859 and 1866, Bauer acted as an assistant to the reactionary Hermann Wagener, editor of both the Berliner Revue and a multi-volume *Staats-un Gesellschafts-Lexikon*. See [1, pp. 347ff]. On the origins of racial antisemitism, see [27].

[21] See [28].

4. Jews and Meaningful Liberty

Nineteenth century examples of Germans who held derogatory views about Judaism or Jewry and yet were prepared to support the removal of the various discriminatory social and political obstacles to which Jews were subject, are easy to find. (Contemporary German examples of gentiles without such derogatory views about Jews or about Judaism are significantly harder to locate.)[22]

Hegel provides a well-known, and pertinent, example. Pertinent, in part, because some of the negative threads in Hegel's work, reappear, albeit in a less tempered and nuanced form, in Bauer's own writings. Throughout his works, both published and unpublished, Hegel expressed derogatory views about both Judaism and Jews. Perhaps most notoriously, in his so-called *Theologische Jugendschriften*, Hegel characterised the religious culture of Jews as overwhelmingly "servile" in character, and portrayed Judaism as the paradigm of a "positive" (that is, authoritarian and irrational) religion, whose single jealous God was estranged from both the natural and social worlds [30].[23] Although there is some evidence of development in Hegel's views on these topics, he never left such characterisations entirely behind. Rather, in his later works, these views are somewhat tempered by the emergence of a more positive account of pre-Christian Judaism's contribution to historical progress.[24] However, notwithstanding his commitment to these negative views, Hegel is quite willing to endorse Jewish emancipation. In his *Rechtsphilosophie*, for example, he insists that since Jews are human beings they must be given equal rights and social acceptance in a rational state.[25]

Accordingly, that Bauer has a derogatory view of both the (exclusive and tenacious) nature of the Jews, and of their (exclusive, positive, and hypocritical) religion, does not fully explain his rejection of their claim to share the same civil and political rights as Christian subjects. Whatever Bauer's motivation for resisting emancipation, his arguments to that end require further examination.

Bauer, as I have already stated, is not a careful or consistent thinker, perhaps especially in these middle-period writings on "the Jewish Question". However, it is possible to identify a central claim to which he is committed, namely that meaningful liberty for Jews is not possible. The greater difficulty is in making sense of the bewildering variety of distinct and often opaque considerations that he puts forward in support of this claim.

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[22] See, in this context, the pertinent remarks of Hal Draper [29].

[23] I write "so-called" because of the numerous objections to this categorisation (chosen by Hermann Nohl the first editor of Hegel's early writings). See, for example [31].

[24] See, for example, Hegel's portrayal of Judaism as the religion of "sublimity", expressing a necessary stage in the development of the ideal, in his 1824 lectures [32]. On the development of Hegel's view of Judaism, see [33–36].

[25] See *Philosophy of Right* §270A. There is also some evidence that Hegel encouraged the admissions of Jews to academic posts and the *Burschenshaften*. See [37]. However, Otto Pöggeler exaggerates when he describes Hegel as having "never flagged in his efforts in the cause of equity for the Jews of his time" [34, p. 551].

Some structure can be given to that variety by recognising a distinction that Bauer makes, at times, between two forms of liberty. Although his discussion of these two forms often overlaps — not least, because he does not always distinguish consistently and clearly between them — Bauer's reasons for claiming that Jews cannot benefit from liberty can be organised according to which of these forms is at issue.

The distinction in question is between the inadequate, and undemanding, forms of liberty that were sought for German Jews by Bauer's contemporaries, and the meaningful, and more demanding, form of liberty which he himself had successfully identified. At one point, Bauer marks this distinction terminologically, contrasting mere "emancipation [*Emanzipation*]" with "real freedom [*wahre Freiheit*]" [8, p. 87]. I shall use consistently the nomenclature that Bauer uses in passing, distinguishing throughout between the (supposedly inadequate) forms of "emancipation" sought by his contemporaries and the (meaningful) form of "real freedom" to which Bauer is himself committed. (I use the word "liberty" to refer to the general concept of which "real freedom" and "emancipation" are particular conceptions.)

Many of the threads in Bauer's account of "real freedom" are, at least by the distinctive standards of left Hegelianism, rather conventional. Real freedom, for example, is not only the most valuable good, it also forms the goal and impulse of human history. The "ultimate object [*Endzweck*]" of history, Bauer insists, is real freedom, and history "must and will" develop towards that end [24, p. 175]. Moreover, since human nature is only fully and authentically realised in circumstances of real freedom, history can be read not only as the progressive realisation of freedom, but also as a process of human self-actualisation.

The connection between real freedom and the actualisation of human nature is an important one. Real freedom requires that individuals both (cognitively) understand and (practically) acknowledge their common humanity. A society which embodied real freedom would be one in which the "universality" of human nature was not only understood intellectually, but also fully realised in social and political arrangements. Moreover, in both thinking of, and treating, one another in a manner which respected our common humanity we would not only have achieved the full flourishing of human nature but also, and as a result, have reached the end of historical development. Such a society lies in the future, albeit that Bauer, at least in his more apocalyptic moments (which occurred not infrequently in this period), thought of that future, and thereby the end of history, as tantalisingly close. Humankind, he insists at one point, currently stands at a historical juncture where a "sweeping revolution" which could cure "all ills" is possible [24, p. 192].

The connection between "real freedom" and the "universality" of human nature is an important one. It plays a role in three further claims, which Bauer develops, concerning the nature of real freedom: first, that real freedom is incompatible with religious belief; second, that Christianity has a greater conceptual affinity with real freedom than does Judaism; and third, that Christianity is somehow more germane to the achievement of real freedom than is Judaism. Each of these claims requires some elaboration.

For Bauer, religion is an interim and inadequate stage in the development of human self-consciousness. The inadequacy of religion consists in its cognitive and practical failings, which prevent the realisation of real freedom.

Bauer provides two different versions of the primary cognitive failing of religion. In places he follows Ludwig Feuerbach and identifies that cognitive failing as religion's misidentification of its subject, in that the image which human self-consciousness has for thousands of years worshipped as God, is revealed (by the left Hegelian critique) to be nothing other than a "mirror image" of itself.[26] Elsewhere, however, rather than the misidentification of humanity as God, Bauer draws attention to what (for reasons which are not clear) he seems to think of as a correlate mistake, namely, the misidentification of human nature with some sectional characteristic, for example, with circumcision or baptism [24, p. 175]. On either account, it could be claimed that religion fails to identify our common humanity correctly.

Bauer's account of the practical failing of religion appears to depend on the second version of its cognitive failing. Religious commitments are not only based on, but also encourage, sectional identification. These sectional identifications, in turn, generate social conflict. Indeed, Bauer suggests that the sectional characteristics encouraged by religion are the primary source of social conflict, that they constitute the "basis" of all civil and political "prejudice" [8, pp. 95–96].

In short, since religion fails to recognise our common humanity (because it embodies sectional, and therefore false, views of human nature) and sets individuals against one another (because the sectional identification on which it is based is socially divisive), Bauer concludes that religion conflicts with the cognitive and practical conditions for real freedom, namely that we both understand and, in our social and political arrangements, respect, our common humanity. This account of the failings of religion helps flesh out Bauer's account of a society in which our common humanity would be understood and acknowledged.

The political condition for the realisation of real freedom is the replacement of the existing "Christian state", by the "higher state-idea [*höhern Staats-Idee*]" which Bauer, at times, calls a "commonwealth" [8, p. 20]. The "Christian state", on Bauer's account, is a state which "confesses its Christian character and where the Christian religion is designated as the state religion". As such, it is a state based on sectional privileges. In contrast, the Bauerian "commonwealth" is a state in which there are "rights" rather than "privileges", and in which politics is "a common affair of all" [8, p. 88]. For Bauer, this is only possible in a state which contains no privileged religion.

However, it is not sufficient that religious privilege be removed from the state. On Bauer's account, there are individual as well as political conditions for the establishment of a "commonwealth". Real freedom requires, in particular, that individuals abandon their religious beliefs in favour of what might be called "Bauerian atheism".

Note that Bauerian atheism is not simply a negative condition, the absence of a certain set of beliefs. On Bauer's account, in order to become truly free, individuals must not only (negatively) reject their religious beliefs, but also (positively) replace those beliefs with a rather vaguely described identification with humankind. The individual members of the "commonwealth" must learn to think of themselves, and to act, as "human beings who are no longer separated from their fellow men by barriers which they wrongly consider to be all-important" [8, p. 60]. The Bauerian atheist "has to make the cause of humanity his own; his own cause the cause of humanity" [8, p. 92]. Only in this way will individuals become "complete and whole men [*ganze und volle Menschen*]" who are strangers to hypocrisy [24, p. 177].

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[26] See [38]. In *Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden*, Bauer suggests that religion "orders man to consider that which he really is as an object of adoration, as something foreign" [24, p. 180].

In the context of the works under discussion, this first claim, that real freedom is incompatible with religion (whether in the state or in the individual), stands out. This is the only significant point in either *Die Judenfrage* or *Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden*, where Bauer develops a general claim about religion, or more precisely, a claim which applies to Christianity and Judaism without distinction. For example, in discussing the individual conditions for real freedom, Bauer accepts that both Jews and Christians "can consider each other and treat each other as *men* only when they have given up the special nature which separates them" [8, p. 19].

As previously shown, Bauer is usually only too keen to contrast the exclusiveness of Judaism with the recognition of universality in Christianity. Indeed, it is a significant characteristic of Bauerian atheism that, far from dismissing all religious beliefs equally, it is keen to rank and judge them relative to its own presuppositions. As a result, there appears to be a significant tension between the dominant trend of these middle-period writings, in which the universality of Christianity is contrasted with the exclusiveness of Judaism, and this particular thread in Bauer's argument, in which a sectional identification is located at the heart of all religions. Which of these two views of Christianity are utilised by Bauer appears to depend on the wider context. The dominant account, emphasising the universality of Christianity, prevails when he is denigrating Judaism. However, at this point in his argument, when considering the superiority of Bauerian atheism, he locates a sectional identification of humankind at the heart of all religions. Some reconciliation between these two views of Christianity may be possible, but, once again, Bauer seems unaware of, and unconcerned by, the tension between them.

Bauer's further claims about the nature of real freedom return us to the dominant account of the relative merits of Christianity. The second of those further claims asserts that, compared to Judaism, Christianity is conceptually closer to real freedom. Given the link between real freedom and universality, and the dominant claim of these middle-period writings that, unlike Judaism, Christianity with its "boundless [*schrankenlos*] idea of mankind" recognises the universality of human nature, Bauer can now rehearse the purported superiority of Christianity in terms of its conceptual affinity with real freedom [24, p. 183]. Moreover, Bauer does not hesitate to describe this conceptual affinity in normative terms. In standing closer to real freedom, he insists, "Christianity stands far above Judaism, the Christian far above the Jew" [24, p. 192].

The third of Bauer's further claims asserts that Christianity is, in some way, more germane to the achievement of real freedom than is Judaism. This greater relevance is elaborated in two directions. Bauer suggests that, relative to Christians, Jews have greater difficulty in making the break with religion required by real freedom, and that, relative to Christian faithlessness, Jewish apostasy is of less historical significance. Christians, it appears, find it easier to make the relevant break with their religion, and are more effective in bringing about real freedom when they do so.

The reasoning behind these claims is far from transparent. However, the greater relative ease with which Christians can make the break with religion required by real freedom appears to be related to the conceptual affinity between Christianity and real freedom. Bauer assumes that this conceptual affinity makes it easier for Christians to adopt Bauerian atheism. In places, ever the good Hegelian, he expresses this comparative ease in terms of a conceptual progression which is embodied in both historical progress and individual development. Just as humankind, in order to reach real freedom, has to pass through Judaism and Christianity in turn, so also the individual Jew "has to break not only with his Jewish essence, but also with … the completion of his religion, with a development which has remained for him foreign and towards which he has not acceded" [24, p. 195]. Bauer concludes that "[t]he Christian has only one stage; namely to surmount his religion in order to abandon religion in general", whereas, "[t]he Jew has it harder if he wants to raise himself to freedom" [24, p. 195]. Bauer does not insist that such a (twofold) leap is impossible, but there is every suggestion that he considers it highly unlikely.

The rather stark antipathy that Bauer locates between Jews and real freedom is also apparent in his account of the world-historical consequences of Jewish and Christian apostasy. Bauer differentiates, rather strikingly, between the consequences of Jewish and Christian loss of religious commitment. Bauerian atheism requires, as we have seen, not only a negative condition, the absence of religious beliefs, but also a positive condition, the presence of an identification with humankind. Bauer now suggests that Jewish, unlike Christian, apostates are able to fulfil only the first and not the second of these criteria.

For the purposes of this comparison, Bauer treats both religions as embodying concerns, the pursuit of which is somehow constrained and compromised by their religious kernel. When individuals abandon their religious commitments, they typically release the pursuit of those concerns from the constraint of religion. The differential effect of Jewish and Christian apostasy, in this context, rests on the different concerns that the two religions embody.

Judaism, for Bauer, embodies only particularistic interests. Accordingly, when Jews abandon their religious law, he suggests, it typically results only in the existence of a few more egoists who can now furnish their particularistic interests unhindered, for example, by dietary laws [24, p. 186]. There would, it appears, be no wider result. Christianity, in contrast, embodies universal concerns. Bauer concludes that if Christianity, and in particular Christianity in its highest form (Protestantism), were to be "dissolved", it would give us "complete" and "free" men capable of the "highest creations" [24, p. 186]. It appears that the Christian concern for universal interests, freed from its religious shell, would automatically reappear in the form of full-blown Bauerian atheism with its positive concern for the whole of humankind. Whereas the irreligious Jew "gives nothing to mankind if he disregards his restricted law for himself", the Christian apostate, in striking contrast, "gives Mankind everything there is to take if he dissolves his Christian essence" [24, p. 186].

Left Hegelians are frequently, and accurately, characterised as holding that religious alienation is foundational, in the sense that they believe that once religious unfreedom is overthrown all other unfreedoms will easily and automatically be removed. However, it would appear that for Bauer, at least at this point, it is only the overthrow of *Christian* religious alienation which is likely to have that effect. Only the Christian apostate, he claims at one point, contributes to "a struggle which is against unfreedom in general", whereas the Jew who rejects Judaism simply "lifts a restricted law for his own best interests" [24, p. 186]. Judaism, as a result, stands not only "far below" Christianity in Bauer's conceptual hierarchy, but also, and as a result, "far below the possibility of freedom and a revolution which decides the fate of the whole of mankind" [24, p. 192].

5. The "Conversion" Strategy

The most striking feature of Bauer's account of the relation between Jews and emancipation, as distinct from the relation between Jews and real freedom, is the bewildering variety of objections that he raises to the forms of emancipation sought by, and on behalf of, German Jews. Some structure can be given to those myriad objections by identifying three main emancipatory strategies to which Bauer's contemporaries were, in his view, mistakenly attached.

These three strategies can conveniently be called the "conversion", "extension", and "French", views of emancipation. According to the "conversion" strategy, meaningful liberty for German Jews would follow from their individual conversion to Christianity. According to the "extension" strategy, meaningful liberty would follow from the extension to German Jews of the privileges possessed by the majority population (without any fundamental alteration in the nature of the existing Christian state). According to the "French" strategy, meaningful liberty for German Jews would follow from the establishment of a religiously neutral state in which civil and political rights were distributed irrespective of the religious commitments of individuals (and in which religious commitments would be relegated to the status of purely private concerns).

Bauer had available, and indeed used, a rather blunt argument to defeat all of these emancipatory strategies. Meaningful liberty, according to Bauer, requires that individuals should understand and, in practice, acknowledge, their common humanity. On his account, as shown above, amongst the conditions required for the realisation of such a state of affairs are a secular state and atheist citizens. Unlike "real freedom", all the varieties of "emancipation" fail to comply with these two conditions for meaningful liberty. The "conversion" and "extension" strategies leave the religious nature of both individual and state undiminished, whilst the "French" strategy, although it purges the state of religion, leaves individual religiosity intact. Accordingly, the forms of emancipation sought by his contemporaries were, on Bauer's account, incapable of providing meaningful liberty.

Such an argument, whatever else we might think of it, is unlikely to have had much impact on the contemporary debate. Its basic claim that meaningful liberty is incompatible with religious commitment, was, on the one hand, familiar to left Hegelian circles, and, on the other, unlikely to engage the concerns of a wider audience. The more remarkable and provocative element in these middle-period writings on "the Jewish question", for both groups of potential readers, was rather to be found in the additional, and independent, considerations with which Bauer bolsters his rejection of Jewish emancipation. It is on these additional considerations that I focus here.

According to the "conversion" strategy, the meaningful liberty of German Jews would follow from their conversion to Christianity. To describe conversion as an "emancipatory" strategy may seem inappropriate. Not least, this strategy was premised on an individual's escape from being classified amongst the discriminated-against minority, rather than on the removal of the legal restrictions on that minority. Nonetheless, conversion was a route which a number of German Jews took in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in order to free themselves from occupational restrictions.[27] Conversion did not necessarily liberate anyone from popular prejudice, or indeed from self-hatred, but it was a strategy that, to take two well-known examples, enabled Eduard Gans to teach at the University of Berlin,[28] and Karl Marx's father to practice law in Trier.[29]

Bauer's rejection of the view that a Jew could become a "free man" through baptism is an emphatic one. He denounces the conversion strategy as a "fantasy and self-deception [*Einbildung und Selbsttäuschung*]" [24, p. 193]. In addition to its failure to fulfil the conditions for meaningful liberty (in that it leaves the religiosity of both individual and state intact), Bauer puts forward two independent objections to the strategy: first, that conversion of German Jews to Christianity is always insincere, being motivated by self-interest rather than by a genuine commitment to liberty; and second, that even considered in these terms (as an attempt to promote the particular interests of converts) conversion to Christianity fails, since conversion does not actually succeed in making Jews better off. Each of these objections requires some clarification.

First, Bauer claims that the conversion of German Jews to Christianity is always insincere. As an emancipatory strategy, conversion purports to be concerned with promoting liberty, but it is, in fact, always motivated by a prudential desire for some personal advantage. Accordingly, judged as an attempt to gain liberty "it can no longer be sincere [*aufrichtig*]" [24, p. 193]. (Although Bauer's claim, that conversion is always motivated by the instrumental calculation that it will promote self-interest, appears to be an empirical one, he neither offers any evidence in support of it, nor considers any evidence which would appear to contradict it.)[30]

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[27] Jacob Toury has estimated a conversion rate of some 6 or 7 per 10,000 in Germany as a whole, between 1800 and 1870, which would make conversion a statistically marginal phenomena. The visibility and significance of conversion was a result of a number of factors, not least its predominately occurring amongst elite groups in urban areas and, to an extent which is disputed, in waves (for example, after the failure of reform in 1815). See [39,40]. For a stark individual case study, see [41].

[28] See [42,43]. It was 1847 before an "unbaptised" Jew (the physiologist Robert Remak) was appointed at a Prussian university, see [44].

[29] On the conversion of Karl Marx's father, see [45–48].

Second, having insisted that conversion to Christianity consists in an insincere attempt to gain some personal advantage, Bauer claims that even considered in these prudential terms it fails. On Bauer's account, both Christians and Jews are "servants and bondsmen" [24, p. 193]. Conversion, he suggests, "only exchanges the one privileged class for the other, the one which is allied with more drudgery for the other which appears more profitable" [24, p. 193]. The reference here to an "apparent" advantage is intended to contrast with an "actual" advantage. In general, and despite the overwhelming weight of contrary evidence, Bauer is hostile to any suggestion that contemporary German Jews were, relative to the majority population, peculiarly disadvantaged. As well as making passing reference to non-Jews who lack civil rights, he insists that even those German subjects who do possess civil rights, whether by birth or grace, are not thereby "exempt from the general misery". The possession of civil rights in a state which is not yet a "commonwealth", he insists, is wholly ineffective and non-advantageous. Indeed, at one point, Bauer asserts that the situation of those subjects of the Christian State who do possess civil rights is "even worse" than those who do not. The unvarnished discrimination to which German Jews are subject, he suggests, is preferable to the "coating of glamour" which surrounds the lives of Christian rights-bearers [8, p. 88].

The implausible character of this claim should not need belabouring. In Prussia, in the period between 1815 and 1848, an extensive and diverse set of discriminatory constraints on the small Jewish population was in force.[31] Perhaps most obviously, Jews continued to be subject to restrictions on political activity and public service. Jews were excluded both from the electorate for the provincial diets and from holding certain "public" offices (a provision under which they were not only excluded from working as magistrates, higher bureaucrats, and university teachers, but also from appointment to such diverse posts as land surveyors and executioners). Jews could neither practice as lawyers nor serve on juries, and there was a continued presumption, codified in law, that they could not bear witness in certain criminal cases, together with widespread use of the "Jew's Oath" (the *Judeneid* or *more judaico*) in court proceedings (an oath which implied that Jews were peculiarly inclined to perjury). Jews could serve as soldiers but could not be promoted to the officer corps. Jews were also subject to continued restrictions in economic affairs (for example, they were excluded from certain hereditary rights in property and from owning mines and quarries) and in social life more generally (for example, they remained subject to discriminatory ages of consent for marriage). In addition, there was continued close supervision of, and diverse intervention in, the educational and religious life of Jewish communities (for example, at various times in this period Christians were forbidden to attend Jewish schools and Reform services were banned in Berlin).[32] Restrictions were even greater in some of the partially integrated enclaves within Prussia; in Cologne, for example, older residency constraints, which treated Jews as protected aliens (whose numbers and areas of residency were tightly controlled, and who might be expelled at any moment), remained in force. In short, in a state which was, in general, politically backward, Jews, in particular, continued to suffer significant discrimination.

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[30] On the sincerity of conversion, see [49–52]. To give only one well-known example: Andreas Gottschalk, one of the founders of the Cologne Communist League, who as a doctor was in a career which was open to Jews, appears to have converted only after sincere study, on the contestable ground that Christianity provided a better foundation for ethical socialism.

[31] Jews made up some 1.2% of the Prussian population in 1816, and some 1.4% in 1861. See the estimates of Henry Wasserman quoted by David Sorkin, [53].

6. The "Extension" Strategy

According to the "extension" strategy the meaningful liberty of German Jews would follow from the extension to them of the existing privileges enjoyed by the majority population. This strategy accepted the existence of the Christian state in which civil rights functioned as sectional privileges (granted by "birth or grace") rather than universal moral entitlements [8, p. 88]. However, its proponents objected to the existing inequality in the distribution of privileges which, they claimed, put Jews at a material disadvantage. Moreover, they insisted that, without any fundamental alteration in the nature of the state, liberty would result from the extension to German Jews of the civil and political rights held by the Christian majority.

In addition to criticising its failure to fulfil the conditions for meaningful liberty (since it leaves the religiosity of the individual and the state intact), Bauer advances four objections to the extension strategy: first, that a strategy which involves a Christian state extending privilege to non-Christians is somehow inconsistent; second, that a Christian state does no wrong in discriminating against Jews; third, that the extension strategy would deliver no material advantages to German Jews; fourth, that the extension strategy discourages rather than promotes the struggle for meaningful liberty. As before, each of these objections requires some clarification.

First, Bauer claims that there is an inconsistency at the heart of the "extension" strategy. In particular, he challenges the assumption that existing privileges could be extended to the Jewish minority without a fundamental alteration in the nature of the Christian state. For Bauer, a Christian state, as shown above, is a state which "confesses its Christian character and where the Christian religion is designated as the state religion" [8, p. 68]. On this account, the Christian state is necessarily based on the "privilege and prerogative" of Christianity [8, p. 58]. Moreover, since Christianity and Judaism are "mutually exclusive", Bauer concludes that a Christian state must by its very nature discriminate against Jews [8, p. 53]. Given that the Christian state is defined by its commitment to sectional privilege, any extension of the existing privileges of the Christian majority to the minority Jewish population would undermine its essential nature. (This claim, that a Christian state could not extend privilege to non-Christians and still remain a Christian state, was a popular one amongst contemporary conservative opponents of emancipation.)[33]

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[32] See [54,55,57]. The Prussian state also offered incentives to conversion, such as the royal "christening present" of 30 marks for converts who named the monarch as their "godfather", see [56].

Of course, to its proponents, "extension" was a strategy that had already been introduced, albeit tentatively, and subsequently reversed, when several German states extended "full civil rights" to Jews during the Wars of Liberation. Bauer reluctantly accepts the example, but reinterprets this extension of privilege as a temporary product of "tempestuous times" in which the Christian state was on the verge of disintegration [8, p. 59]. He clearly thinks that, because of the contradiction at its heart, the extension strategy cannot be a stable or permanent solution for the Christian state. The lesson of the Wars of Liberation is simply that, in "periods of stress", the Christian state, "in need and in danger of its life", may make momentary concessions to a "higher state-idea" [8, p. 20].

Second, Bauer challenges the claim, to which he believes advocates of the "extension" strategy are committed, that in discriminating against Jews the Christian state behaves improperly. In particular, he asserts, that in a Christian state "the oppression of the Jews is no wrong" [8, p. 68]. The rationale for this distinctive view appears to rest on two significant assumptions. The first of these is that it is in the nature of the Christian state to discriminate against the Jews. The Christian state, Bauer insists, is a state "which denied and had to deny liberty to the Jews" [8, p. 3]. The second assumption is that improper behaviour is behaviour which is not in accordance with the nature of the relevant agent. The Christian state, Bauer remarks, does not behave improperly when it discriminates against Jews, because such actions embody no "inconsistency", no "repudiation of its basic principles" [8, p. 92]. (That this definition of propriety is problematic — primarily because of its highly counterintuitive consequences — I take to be obvious.) Bauer concludes that, since in discriminating against Jews the Christian state does not act against its own essential nature, in discriminating against Jews the Christian state does no wrong.

Third, Bauer claims that the "extension" strategy, like conversion, is aimed not at achieving meaningful liberty for all but rather at increasing the material benefits of the minority population. Moreover, as might be expected from his previous remarks, Bauer denies that this prudential goal would be achieved by extending the privileges of the Christian majority to the Jewish minority. On his improbable account, as already seen, German subjects who possess civil rights, whether by birth or grace, not only have no advantage, they may even be at a disadvantage, in comparison with German Jews. As a result, even if German Jews were somehow to achieve the same civil rights as the Christian state gives to its majority population, they would not, as a result, be any better off.

Fourth, Bauer claims that the strategy of extending, rather than overthrowing, privilege is misguided from the perspective of those who genuinely seek liberty. The only meaningful liberty, for Bauer, is real freedom, and he suggests that the extension of privilege is a strategy which will actually delay rather than facilitate its achievement. Bauer makes a number of remarks which seem intended to motivate support for this claim. In particular, he appears to hold that privilege in general will only fall from a direct assault, and that such a direct assault would be delayed if, and to the extent that, the "extension" strategy came to monopolise the agenda for social change. He insists, for example, that support for Jewish emancipation distracts attention from other kinds of suffering. Indeed he describes the "advocates of the Jews" as guilty of neglecting their "fellow sufferers" in the absolutist state. (These "fellow sufferers", of course, include those Christians who possess civil rights, and whom Bauer is prepared to characterise as being worse off than the Jewish minority.) Bauer purports to address these strategic considerations, at least in part, to German Jews, urging that "[t]he hope and wish of the Jew should not be for the removal of his special misery but for the downfall of a principle" [8, p. 87].

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[33] Apparent, for example, in the title of Wolfgang Bernhard Fränkel's *Die Unmöglichkeit der Emanzipation der Juden im christlichen Staate: Als Entgegnung historisch nachgewiesen* published in Eberfeld in 1842. See also the editorial in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of July 6, 1842, quoted in [58].

7. The "French" Strategy

According to the "French" strategy, the meaningful liberty of German Jews would follow from the establishment of a neutral state in which civil and political rights would be distributed to individuals irrespective of their religious commitments (and in which religious commitments would, in consequence, be relegated to the status of a "purely private affair") [8, p. 72]. Amongst Bauer's contemporaries, there were many German admirers of French solutions to political questions, not least to the question of Jewish emancipation. Bauer suggests that to many of these enthusiastic observers of French politics, the July Revolution had appeared to "abolish the state religion as such, liberated it [the state — DL] from every clerical influence, and made participation in all political and civil rights independent of religious and church affiliation" [8, pp. 64–65]. Bauer characterises this as a "juste milieu" solution, that is, as a solution which "stops half-way", removing religion from the state without removing it from civil society [8, pp. 72].[34] (It is in the context of criticising such "half-way" solutions that Bauer insists that Judaism is "an evil [*Übel*]" and that an evil is only thoroughly "abolished" if it is "torn out by the roots".) [8, p. 3].

Before considering Bauer's substantive objections to the "French" strategy, it is necessary to deal with two preliminary doubts. One concerns the appropriateness of this nomenclature, the other the accuracy of attributing a rejection of this strategy to Bauer.

It is necessary to enter a historical caveat to the nomenclature offered here because Bauer did not think that what I have called the "French" solution had been fully implemented in France. The July Revolution had not, according to Bauer, entirely succeeded in abolishing the legal protection of religious privilege, because some laws still privileged the religion of the majority. He notes, as an example, the "Luneau amendment" to a child labour law, passed by the National Assembly in 1840, which had made Sunday a compulsory day of rest, thereby disadvantaging Jewish manufacturers and workers. This and similar laws, on Bauer's account, still protected the advantages of a "privileged majority" [8, p. 70]. The French, he concludes, have thus not succeeded in "a complete separation of Christianity from the state" but rather subtly restored the monopoly that they purported to have overthrown [8, p. 72]. However, the nomenclature offered here, in my view, remains appropriate because the attempt (as yet unsuccessful on Bauer's account) to realise this strategy was associated, by both Bauer and his contemporaries, with France.

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[34] The same characterisation appears throughout his brother Edgar's article on South German liberals, entitled "Das Juste-Milieu" and published in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, 5 June 1842.

Some commentators have identified the "French" solution of abandoning religious differences to the private sphere, and granting equal civil and political freedoms to all individuals, as Bauer's own.[35] In its most elementary form, this identification of Bauer's solution with the "French" solution appears to make a basic error, neglecting the second of Bauer's two main conditions for meaningful liberty. Bauer is indeed hostile to the Christian state, and insists that one condition for the establishment of meaningful liberty is that the state no longer embodies religious privilege. However, meaningful liberty requires both that the state is not founded on religious privilege and that individuals in civil society abandon their religious belief in favour of Bauerian atheism. There is, however, a more complex variant of this interpretative position which attributes the French solution to Bauer, but without making this basic error. On this more complex account, the second condition for meaningful liberty (the absence of individual religious commitments) is acknowledged, but is portrayed as the automatic result of the first condition for meaningful liberty (the absence of a privileged state religion) being established. There are undoubtedly one or two passages in *Die Judenfrage* which, considered in isolation, might suggest something like this view.[36] However, the balance of evidence is against this reading. There is little in the way of unambiguous textual support for attributing to Bauer the claim that individual unbelief would follow as an automatic consequence of the expulsion of religion from the state. Moreover, the proposed solution sits uneasily with his fierce hostility to the "juste milieu" solution. It is hard to see why Bauer would have objected so vehemently to the half-heartedness of the "French" strategy, if he believed that purging the state of religion would automatically lead to individuals abandoning their religious beliefs.

Having dealt with these preliminary doubts, it remains to consider Bauer's substantive objections to the "French" strategy. In addition to its failing to fulfil the conditions for meaningful liberty (since it leaves individual religiosity intact), Bauer objects to a key assumption to which, he believes, enthusiasts for the "French" strategy are necessarily committed, namely that Jews are capable of being good citizens. Bauer's objection to this claim should not be confused with the position of many contemporary German liberals who believed that the majority of German Jews currently, but not inevitably, lacked what might be called the educational conditions for citizenship (disagreeing only over whether the requisite *Bildung* was considered a consequence of, or a prior condition for, the removal of legal discrimination). Bauer's objection is a more fundamental one, namely that Jews are, by their very nature, unsuited to citizenship.

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[35] See, for example, Gilman's characterisation of Bauer as arguing that "[p]rejudice against the Jews would vanish, and emancipation become a possibility, when the nature of the state was altered" [59].

[36] See, for example, Bauer's claim that there "is no religion any more as soon as there is no privileged religion". [8, p. 66]. Significantly this section is quoted by Marx in "Zur Judenfrage" [2, band 1, p. 350; 3, vol. 3, p. 149]. For an example of this complex reading, see [60].

Bauer proceeds by identifying three necessary conditions for citizenship in the "juste milieu" state: first, one must be able to distinguish between politics and religion; second, whenever these two spheres conflict, one must respect the priority of political over private life; third, one must respect other citizens as moral equals. Individuals who can fulfil these three conditions are capable of being reliable citizens in such a state. However, Bauer insists that Jews are, by their very nature, incapable of fulfilling any of these conditions. As a result, there exists a "basic contradiction" between the religious commitments of Jews and membership of this liberal state [8, p. 107]. The "juste milieu" model of citizenship, he suggests, is not one that Jews could "sincerely" adopt [8, p. 106].

First, Bauer suggests that Jews are incapable of recognising a distinction between religion and politics. Politics for a Jew "is nothing but religion", and religion, as a result, can never be treated as a private matter. Indeed, Bauer claims that nothing has a purely secular significance for Jews. "Everything in Judaism" he insists "is divine, nothing human. Everything is religion"; even the washing up (the cleaning of cooking vessels on Passover Eve), he notes sardonically, is regarded as a religious rite [8, p. 108]. For Bauer, the Jew who subscribes to a distinction "between civil and religious laws and still believes himself to be a Jew is under an illusion" [8, p. 109].

Second, Bauer insists that, even if Jews were able to recognise the distinction between religion and politics, they would be unable to put political above religious commands whenever the demands of the two spheres conflicted with each other [8, pp. 112–113]. He gives two highly provocative historical examples to support the claim that for Jews religious commands always trump political ones. The first example is the so-called "Great Sanhedrin" called by Napoleon in 1791.[37] Bauer seizes on the fact that the most important speeches in the "Sanhedrin" were delivered in Hebrew and then translated into French. He insists that this is a highly revealing detail, illustrating all too accurately the manner in which French Jews think of French citizenship. For the Jew, he remarks, "[t]he Hebrew is the original, the real, the true, the kernel; the French is the translation, the unreal, the offprint, the illusion, the shell." [8, p. 111]. Bauer's second example concerns the Wars of Liberation, in which German Jews performed military service for the first time on any scale (some fifty-five Jews died at Waterloo, and between 1813 and 1815 seventy-two Jews were awarded the iron cross).[38] Bauer's insists that German Jews were only able to enlist because they were given permission to do so by their “Synagogues and Rabbis”. Again, he claims that this detail accurately reveals the real relation for the Jew between his religious and political duties. For the Jew, the religious law always stands in principle above the state “which receives only a precarious privilege” [24, p. 177].

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[37] On the 'Sanhedrin', see [61].

[38] The symbolic importance of these events is vividly portrayed in Moritz Oppenheim's well known 1833 painting *The Homecoming of a Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to his Traditionally Observant Family*. On the importance of social commentary in the work of Oppenheim ("the first Jewish painter") see [62].

Bauer’s argumentative strategy is, as ever, noteworthy. The judgement of the so-called “Great Sanhedrin” regarding the attitude of Judaism to the state, and the enthusiastic participation of German Jews in the Wars of Liberation, were examples which were widely used by advocates of emancipation to support the claim that Jews could be good citizens. Bauer appeals to exactly the same historical examples in order to draw the very opposite conclusion. As long as the Jew remains Jewish, Bauer insists that his “Jewish and restricted [*beschränktes*] essence always and at last carries away the victory over his human and political duties” [24, p. 176].

Third, Bauer suggests that citizenship in the “juste milieu” state presupposes a belief in the fundamental moral equality of all citizens, and that this is a belief which Jews cannot sincerely accept. Bauer acknowledges that contemporary Jews purport to endorse such egalitarian views, but he claims that any Jewish endorsement of moral equality is disingenuous. In particular, the theoretical adherence of Jews to the notion of moral equality is undermined by their religious practice. The religious actions of the Jew, Bauer insists, “refute his prettiest speeches about equality and humanity”. The Jew’s dietary laws, for example, on this account, presuppose that all gentiles are unclean, and thereby constitute proof that the Jew “regards non-Jews not as his equals, not as fellow men” [8, p. 30]. As a result, Bauer insists that Jews cannot sincerely receive, or grant to others, “human rights”, since such rights are founded on a belief in the fundamental moral equality of humankind which they do not accept.

The failure of Jews to fulfil these three conditions is not, according to Bauer, a contingent one. Those Jews who appeal to the excellence of their religious morality as proof of their capacity to be good citizens have, he insists, misunderstand the nature of, and qualifications for, citizenship in the “juste milieu” state [24, p. 176]. Since emancipation on the “French” model presupposes these qualifications for citizenship, anyone seeking in this way to emancipate German Jewry is in the same position as someone who “wanted to wash the Moor white”, namely they set themselves an impossible task [24, p. 176]. The “emancipated Jew”, Bauer concludes, is a contradiction in terms, since Jews are only capable of counterfeit citizenship.

8. Jews and Modernity

It was the intellectual position that Bauer occupied, as well as the timing of his intervention and polemical skills, which provoked so many leading proponents of emancipation into print. Bauer was an early example of the secular radical who, nonetheless, managed to incorporate themes from the established tradition of Christian Judeophobia. Consider, for example, the way that Bauer, despite his atheism, echoes the position of Christian critics who sought to absolve the Bible of responsibility for the sins of the Jews and focussed their hostility on post-biblical Judaism.

Moreover, and perhaps more significantly, Bauer rejected emancipation despite his willingness to think of Jews in religious, rather than, for example, national terms. This explains, in part, the large number of critical responses to *Die Judenfrage* which came from individuals sympathetic to the Reform movement.

More generally, Bauer's account of the fate of contemporary Jewry is unremittingly hostile. He insists that the exclusive and tenacious nature of the Jews, which reflects their exclusive, positive, and hypocritical religion, is not only incompatible with the real freedom which forms the subject, and end, of human history (an end which Jews have neither an affinity with nor an effect on), but also makes them unsuitable recipients of more mundane forms of emancipation. In the modern constitutional state, Bauer finds that Jews are incapable of fulfilling the conditions of citizenship; in the Christian state, he judges the exclusion of Jews from the privileges of the majority to be no wrong; even baptism is held to offer no possibility of escape from disadvantage.

Moreover, although Bauer insists on the comprehensive estrangement of Jews from the modern world, he dismisses the idea of expressing regret at this fate. Regret, Bauer suggests, is not always an appropriate response to individuals who find themselves in an unwelcome situation. For regret to be appropriate, two additional conditions must be present. Some alternative (and more welcome) situation must be possible, and the disadvantaged individuals must not be responsible for their own (unwelcome) predicament. For Bauer, in the case of the estrangement of Jews from modernity, neither of these additional conditions is present.

First, Bauer denies that, for Jews in the modern world, any alternative (and more welcome) fate is possible. He insists that the Jews could never feel properly at home in a world "which they did not make, did not help to make, which is contrary to their unchanged nature" [8, p. 2]. The appropriate condition of Jews in modernity is one of estrangement and unhappiness.

Second, Bauer claims that Jews are themselves responsible for their predicament. Jews, he insists, have brought discrimination and opprobrium on themselves by their own behaviour. He rejects outright the suggestion that the estrangement between Jews and the modern social world is a result of the mistreatment they have received from gentiles. In his discussion of civil society, for example, Bauer claims that the Jews, although not responsible for the egoism and insecurity of civil society, have exploited its victims (through usury). In response to the rejoinder that this was a result of the exclusion of Jews by the Christian majority from corporations and other forms of economic activity, Bauer insists that the Jews placed themselves outside of the structure of estates and corporations, by regarding themselves "as a nation" [8, p. 9]. Is it possible, Bauer asks (he appears to think that this is a rhetorical question) for the Jews to have been excluded from these intermediate associations if "the Jews had not excluded themselves?" [8, p. 10].

Bauer suggests that those who, whilst admitting that "the attitude, the character, and the condition of the Jews" are deplorable, would seek to blame those factors on the oppression that Jews have suffered, are guilty of special pleading [8, p. 4]. The German debate on emancipation had, of course, been initiated by those such as Christian Wilhelm Dohm who whilst accepting the moral degeneracy of Jews, portrayed these characteristics as a consequence of their hostile environment.[39] In a provocative rhetorical reversal, Bauer insists that subscribing to such a view of the historical innocence of the Jews does them a serious injustice, the injustice of positing as an effect what was a cause. The Jews were the first to practise exclusiveness and what they did to others, he ominously remarks, they are now getting back in "full measure" [8, p. 53]. Where Jews were oppressed, Bauer insists, they "were thus themselves to blame for the oppression they suffered, because they provoked it by their adherence to their law, their language, to their whole way of life" [8, p. 4]. Indeed, at one point, Bauer suggests not only that discrimination against Jews was merited because it had been provoked by their own actions, but also that, in some way, discrimination reflected the Jew's "own wishes". Since the Jew "regards himself as something special compared with the Christian" Bauer suggests that the Christian state is only respecting that claim when it, in turn, treats the Jew "as something special" by discriminating against him [8, p. 57].

Bauer's final thought is that, as a result, some familiar claims about prejudice and discrimination need to be rethought. Since there is no alternative to the fate that Jews have, in any case, brought on themselves, no real compunction should be felt at their thoroughgoing estrangement from the modern world. Contemporary Jews, Bauer insists, "are of necessity oppressed and their suffering is incurable" [8, p. 14]. Esau's tears, if they include tears of regret, are seemingly inappropriate.

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LES BELLES LETTRES

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In Archives Juives Volume 43, Issue 2, 2010, pages 30 to 48
Publishers Les Belles lettres

ISSN 0003-9837
ISBN 9782251694313

Article available online at
https://www.cairn-int.info/revue-archives-juives1-2010-2-page-30.htm

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Jews and Freemasonry in the nineteenth century: An overview of current knowledge

Jean-Philippe Schreiber

The relationship between Judaism and Freemasonry features very little in the historiography of Jews in the nineteenth century, and even less in that of Jews during the Enlightenment. As such, there is a need to provide an overview of the areas that have previously been investigated, so as to identify avenues of future research for completing the gaps in our knowledge.

The presence of Jews in Masonic lodges in the first century of Speculative Freemasonry's existence contributed to gradually fragmenting Jewish society and bringing about the pluralism that would henceforth characterize it. From the eighteenth century onward, the appeal of the lodges for Christians, but also some Jews, reflected an increased rejection of religious institutions, the desire to bring men together beyond religious divides, the weakening of traditional bonds, and the foregrounding of the individual. As Judaism allowed for a degree of freedom of conscience, it was not in fact difficult for the Jews who freed themselves from the weight of tradition and the social fetters of their community of origin to decide to become a member of a *société de pensée* (intellectual society) foreign to Judaism. From the Jewish point of view, there were therefore no real religious obstacles to becoming a Mason; instead, it required more of a preliminary social change, in the general context of Jewish integration into the surrounding society, which was at its height in the nineteenth century.

But what kind of reception awaited them in the lodges? And what influence did the Masons have on the life of nineteenth-century Jewish elites and communities?

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Masonic attitudes to the Jews: British liberalism versus German exclusionism The first reference to a Jew becoming a Mason dates back to 1716. From 1723, Jewish names appear in the archives of the Grand Lodge of England, and James Anderson himself, in the second edition of his *Constitutions* (1738), refers to several senior Jewish officers of the Grand Lodge, most of them Sephardi.[1] The practice in England and the British Empire (which would later play an important role in the expansion of Masonry to the United States[2]), then in the United Provinces and Dutch colonies, was to admit Jews as members, although some lodges did discriminate against them. Masonry, including in its early days, may not have had the monopoly on fraternity, nor on the new "religion" of deism. But placed at the heart of the contemporary movement to liberate minds, its originality and profoundly innovative nature lay in two aspects: the pluralism that it strove to practice, and the aspiration to rise above religious quarrels that it promoted by showing itself to be pluralist in this respect also—at least in principle. In early eighteenth-century England, which had a small Jewish community, there was no real Jewish question for the originators of Speculative Freemasonry when they were developing its first constitutions. So when the first Jew knocked on the door of the lodge, he was granted admission. The eligibility of the Jews was, of course, the subject of later debate, but due to the general atmosphere of tolerance and their attachment to the founding principles of Freemasonry, English lodges generally admitted Jewish members. This was also the case in the United States and, in the nineteenth century, across several European countries. Except in Germany.

There, due to prejudice, the particular social position of the Jews, the rise of German Romanticism and nationalism, and above all the particular relationship of many German lodges to Christianity, such tolerance was far from being universally applied. Yet it was in Germany, where Masonry included representatives of the intellectual elite steeped in modern humanism, that many Jews began from the late eighteenth century to knock on the door of temples, only to be refused admission. This rejection contributed to holding back a movement of social emancipation that the context required just as much as elsewhere—and sometimes even as mindsets developed considerably in this regard in German society, particularly between 1830 and 1875. This was the moment when German Masonry, or at least the greatest part of it, failed in its role as an agent of social integration. Not through the linear crumbling of tolerance, from inclusion to exclusion, but through the coexistence of these

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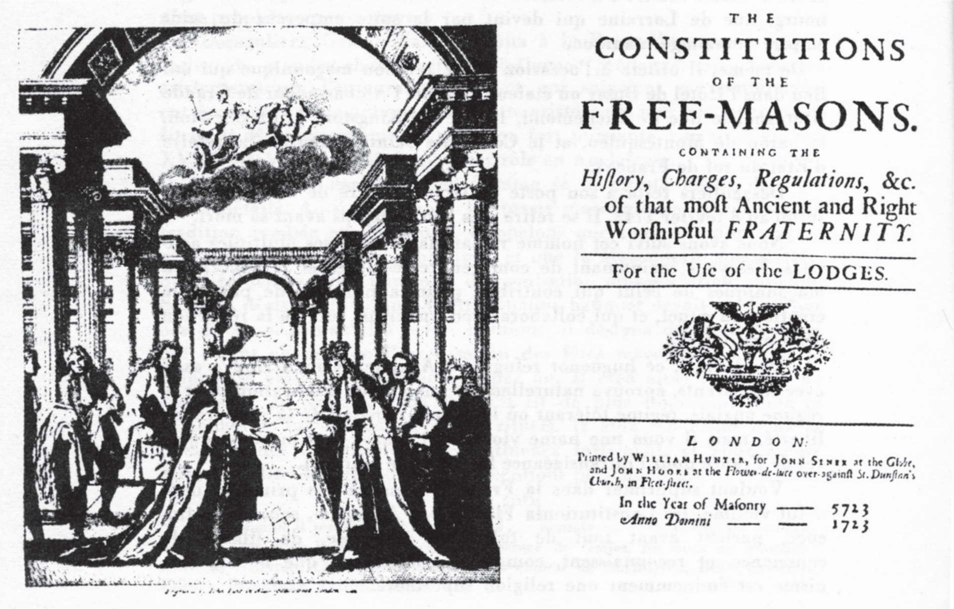

THE
CONSTITUTIONS
OF THE
FREE-MASONS.
CONTAINING THE
Hiſtory, Charges, Regulations, &c.
of that moſt Ancient and Right
Worſhipful *FRATERNITY.*
For the Uſe of the LODGES.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM HUNTER, for JOHN SENEX at the *Globe*,
and JOHN HOOKE at the *Flower-de-luce* over-againſt *St. Dunſtan's Church*, in *Fleet-ſtreet*.

In the Year of Maſonry —— 5723
Anno Domini —— —— 1723

***Image 1**: Cover of the first edition of Anderson's* Constitutions. *Setting out the duties of Masons and conveying an ancient and venerable vision of their history, they formed and still form the basis of universal Freemasonry.*

Taken from Gérard Serbanesco, Histoire de la franc-maçonnerie universelle, son rituel, son symbolisme, *vol. 1 (Paris: Les Ed. Intercontinentales, 1963).*

two inextricably linked movements: a tension that continued, as Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann has clearly shown in his work on Freemasonry and *Bildung* (German education and culture).[3]

Eighteenth-century German Masonry, like German society as a whole, was largely against the admission of Jews as members, on the basis of the Christian nature of Freemasonry. There was however one exception: the Order of Brüder Sint-Johannes des Evangelisten aus Asien in Europa or the "Asiatic Brethren," founded in Vienna in 1780 as the first Masonic order offering to accept both Jews and Christians among its members. It had lodges in Prague, Innsbruck, Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, and Hamburg.[4] Following in the footsteps of the Asiatic Brethren a few months after the French Revolution, the Berlin Toleranzloge also advocated openly, though in isolation, the admission of Jewish members.

It was also in Germany that Gotthold Ephraim Lessing—who saw Freemasons as a model of universalism, benevolence, and fraternity, and the ultimate philosophers—maintained a friendship with another enlightened mind, Moses Mendelssohn. This was a friendship characterized by a community of philosophical ideals. Yet when Mendelssohn expressed the desire to learn more about Masonry, Lessing refused

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to tell him what went on in a lodge. A Christian Mason like Lessing, despite fighting for the emancipation of the Jews, was still therefore unable to bear one of them entering the brotherhood.

The three United Grand Lodges in Berlin, the backbone of German Masonry, which all followed a Christian rite, unanimously decided not to admit any Jewish members into the lodges under their jurisdiction, even if they had been admitted elsewhere. Jews enjoyed limited tolerance in the capacity of visitors only. This exclusionary trend grew even as the legal situation of the Jews in the German states improved, as if civil and political emancipation were a driver for a symmetrical increase in segregation, even in intellectual societies. This rejection hardened in Berlin, where it endured for several decades, in contrast to the tolerance of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg and the lodges under French jurisdiction.

This was the result of the advance of the French revolutionary and then imperial armies, which contributed to the expansion of Masonry and spread tolerance toward the Jews within it: a Jewish lodge, for example, was created in Frankfurt am Main shortly after the imperial city became a principality administered by Napoleonic France. "L'Aurore Naissante" (later the Zur aufgehenden Morgenröte), was recognized in 1807 by the Grand Orient thanks to the people skills of Max Cerfbeer,[5] and its first lodge master was Siegmund Geisenheimer, an associate of the Rothschild family. The historians Jacob Katz and Paul Arnsberg have shown that its members included almost all the leading families of the old Jewish community in Frankfurt along with those who had rapidly climbed the social ladder—such as the Hanau, Goldschmidt, and Rothschild families, and in particular their younger members.

This pattern was repeated in many other cities: the first individuals from the elite Jewish community to become Masons were men who sought, among other things, to end the community's isolation and open a dialogue with the Christian world.[6] The creation of the Morgenröte was therefore closely linked to the struggle of Frankfurt's Jews to obtain their civic emancipation. Of the two delegates sent by the Jewish community to the Assembly of Notables and the Sanhedrin convened by Napoleon, one was in fact one of the lodge's founders—namely its orator Isaac Hildesheim, who spoke on behalf of the lodge and was responsible for ensuring procedures were properly followed. Its members would later include the writer Ludwig Börne, who joined in 1809,[7] the journalist Gabriel Riesser, initiated in 1832,[8] the poet and champion of German unification Berthold Auerbach,[9] who was initiated in 1838, the historian Isaac Marcus Jost, and the artist Moritz Oppenheim.

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It was this Jewish Masonic bourgeoisie in Frankfurt that managed the affairs of a community increasingly attracted to a liberal, reforming vision of Judaism, and thus played a key role in the cultural and religious history of nineteenth-century German Judaism.[10] All of its leading figures were Masons from 1817 to 1832, a period of significant community change—raising the question of the influence of their membership of the Masons on this reforming attitude. Far from being short-lived, the Jewish presence continued into the second half of the century, when the Creizenach, Goldschmidt, Hahn, and Lehberger families, for example, were both community leaders and members of several Frankfurt lodges.

In the early nineteenth century, Freemasonry in Germany, as in France, Belgium, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, thus began to exercise its role of common social framework at a significant level. It contributed to ending the isolation of Jewish communities, and in some cases acted as a laboratory of ideas in favor of reforming the civic status of the Jews. In the lodges under French jurisdiction—one such, in the Netherlands, even took the name of "Saint Napoléon"—Masonic discourse was in unison with that of Jewish consistories, reflecting the same Bonapartist Legitimism and the same desire to see the new regime realize its promise of a new humanity, revitalized by reason and fraternity. But with the conservative, nationalist reaction that followed 1815, the Morgenröte became an almost exclusively Jewish lodge, continuing in vain to denounce the exclusive Christianization of German Masonry. The other lodges refused to have any further contact with it.

Some achievements nevertheless endured, and these again came into play at the height of German liberalism, as a convergence arose in the 1840s between emancipated Jews increasingly shedding their religious particularism, and Christian Masons seeing the link to their own faith weaken day by day. Driven by a new generation, tolerance developed and made it possible to bring an end to the isolation of Jewish lodges. In 1844, Frankfurt's Eclectic Alliance, one of the non-Prussian mother lodges, finally allowed members of the Morgenröte to attend meetings of its affiliated lodges in the capacity of visitors. The majority of lodges adopted this position, with the exception of the mystical and Christian lodges, who were themselves increasingly marginalized from their openly humanist mother lodge. Johann Georg Kloss, Grand Master of the Eclectic Alliance from 1836, played a key role in this process, including by clearly marking the divide between the Christian and humanist points of view.

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Jacob Katz is right therefore to claim that the Jews played a decisive role in the history of German Masonry, including in the transfer of jurisdiction of some lodges from the conservative mother lodges of Berlin to their more liberal counterparts in Frankfurt and Hamburg. Such liberalization, around 1848, was however short-lived. Once the Revolution was over, after the power of mother lodges and state control over Prussian Freemasonry was restored, the rebel lodges returned to their bosom and once again excluded their Jewish members. While they did not have a complete monopoly over German Masonry, the Prussian mother lodges were extremely powerful. Their bans therefore endured, even if time gradually weakened their impact.

The social evolution of the Jewish community, the growing number of Jews who wanted to become Masons, their cultural integration, and the progress of the process that would soon lead to their legal emancipation all worked in favor of this change in attitude. However, with the unification of Germany in 1871 and the unification of German Freemasonry that followed, those most attached to Christian homogeneity looked for arguments other than the principle of the Christian character of lodges to exclude Jewish members. This resulted, in certain conservative lodges during the 1870s, in the promotion of a social discourse concerning the Jews revitalized by the biological perspective. The supposed differences between Aryans and Semites strengthened the arguments of those who could no longer justify their aversion to the Jews on the basis of religious differences.[11] The prospects opened up by German unification were therefore quickly swept away by reality. Once again, hatred of the Jews, an issue in German political debate and social discourse, was not absent from the Masons. Under Bismarck's Reich, and particularly during the 1880s, which saw a surge of anti-Semitic frenzy, Freemasonry was as anti-Semitic as the rest of German society. Those who had been admitted as members left, and some lodges, who had until then accepted Jews, began to exclude them. But in reality, even at the height of German liberalism, the Jews had never had truly free access to lodges. And the religious restriction clause invoked until then—the Christian character of Freemasonry—turned out to have primarily been a pretext designed to exclude them from an intellectual society in which not all minds were ready for true tolerance.

Freemasonry as a framework for social integration With German lodges so reluctant to admit Jewish members, and Masonry banned for nearly a century in the areas of western Europe

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under Tsarist Russian control—home to half the world's Jewish population—it was only in western Europe and the Mediterranean that Masonry could truly play its role as an integrating framework for some modernized Jewish elites. In these countries their admission was not really a politically, or even philosophically or religiously charged issue—except perhaps during the Dreyfus affair. This goes to show the extent to which Masonry merely supported the general movement of Jews throughout the century toward their integration in western Europe and the Americas, regions that did not yet have significant Jewish communities but were becoming the favored destinations for Jewish migration, and where the major debates concerning the future of Judaism were taking shape.

In this context, similarities can be seen between the social policy of Reform Jewish communities, their education system, their philanthropic system founded on patronage, assistance, and social provision, and the Masonic model, which also promoted philanthropy, mutual support, and solidarity. The case of Frankfurt is significant in this respect. There was also clearly a link worthy of greater investigation between membership of the Masons and the modernization of Jewish society: its innovators, reformers, radicals, and even marginal figures were sometimes if not often Masons. There are therefore striking similarities between Masonic discourse and liberal Jewish discourse. The ideology of "regeneration," while driven by ideological and economic objectives, also suited a key concern of Masonry: to create "new men" through initiation. This similarity is more than merely symbolic.

Affinities can also be identified between the Masonic model and Jewish education. The Philanthropin, for example, a model school and showcase for Jewish reform in Germany, was created in 1804 by Siegmund Geisenheimer, who would later found the Jewish lodge in Frankfurt. It included a number of Masons among its leaders and teachers, with some playing a non-negligible role in the cultural and religious development of German Judaism and in the Science of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*), such as the writer Moses Hess, the historian Isaac Marcus Jost, and the mathematician Michaël Creizenach.[12]

The Masons also included Reform Jewish members who were close to the Masons in philosophical and ideological terms. Liberal rabbi Leopold Stein, for example, who was admitted in 1867 into the Frankfurt lodge Zur Einigkeit—Franz Liszt's lodge—had steered the Reform synod of 1845, then led the Frankfurt community before stepping down from his rabbinical functions in 1862. He was then replaced by a leading

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figure of German Reform Judaism, Abraham Geiger.[13] There was also Gotthold Salomon, leader of the Reform temple of Hamburg, initiated into the Frankfurt Morgenröte in 1837, who had previously advocated stripping Freemasonry of its Christian additions in Masonic orations[14]; Isaac Bamberger, rabbi of the Reform community of Königsberg between 1865 and 1896[15]; Solomon Formstecher,[16] rabbi in Offenbach, who was a member of the Zum Frankfurter Adler; and Samuel Hirsch,[17] a member of the Enfants de la Concorde Fortifiée lodge and chief rabbi of Luxembourg—as well as his successor Isaac Blumenstein, also initiated into this lodge in 1874.[18] Jacob Katz has highlighted the figure of Samuel Hirsch, trained in the *yeshivas* of Metz and Mainz and the universities of Bonn and Berlin, who was initiated in 1843, the year he was appointed chief rabbi of Luxembourg—which he left in 1866 for Philadelphia, where he became a leading figure in American Reform Judaism.[19] Finally, the pattern of Reform rabbis having membership of the Masons was even more marked in Great Britain.[20]

For philosophical, spiritual, and religious, but also historical and symbolic reasons, Freemasonry generally disseminated a positive image of Judaism, and thus contributed, in conjunction with other drivers of the new society, to accelerating the change in mentalities toward it. Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, a Mason and pioneer of Reform Judaism in the United States, thus enthusiastically declared: “Masonry is a Jewish institution whose history, degrees, charges, passwords and explanations are Jewish from the beginning to the end”—a maxim that anti-Masons took great delight in exploiting.[21]

Conversely, the process of Jewish emancipation came later in places where Freemasonry was prohibited.[22] The example of Tsarist Russia, where Freemasonry survived only in secrecy after being outlawed by Alexander I in 1822, is revealing in this respect. This ban effectively ended the mass entry of Jews into lodges that had begun in 1815, particularly in Warsaw, which might have constituted a modernizing factor for Judaism in eastern Europe. According to Artur Eisenbach, a large element of Warsaw’s Jewish bourgeoisie, namely members of the enlightened elite, influenced by the *Haskalah,* who were active as leaders of the Jewish community and its educational and social institutions, had participated in Masonic life for the decade and a half prior to its prohibition.[23]

Daniel Tollet has also shown that a number of Polish Jewish revolutionaries exiled after 1831 joined Masonic lodges in Paris or provincial France.[24] Historian Joachim Lelewel, elected to the Diet in

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1828 and the likely intellectual inspiration behind the Polish Uprising of 1830 before he was forced to seek exile in France, thus maintained, through Masonry, a link between Jewish and non-Jewish Polish democrats.

Of course, assimilation, mixed marriage, and conversion resulted in defections from Judaism; without provoking them, Freemasonry enabled its members to lessen their effects, by conferring respectability and normality on mixed identities. Heinrich Heine, a Jew by origin and a Mason, thus saw his own conversion in a way that rejected any form of betrayal. As Michael Meyer has highlighted, the gradual breakdown of community unity, which began in the modern era, drove many marginal figures to integrate the cultural norms of the surrounding society more quickly and to relax their religious practice, to the extent of sometimes adopting deviant attitudes.[25] There were many such cases in the nineteenth century, particularly in places where the community held relatively little sway. The widespread religious laxism and clear regression of orthopraxy experienced by some elements of Jewish society since the modern era—among the Sephardi but also among some Ashkenazi, and some Jews in eighteenth-century Alsace—was compounded in the nineteenth century by a reaction against religious law, perceived to be archaic and dogmatic. These marginal figures shared Freemasonry's inclination toward the universal, accorded morality the same supremacy over faith, harbored the same desire to promote the individual, social action, and philanthropy, and had the same progressive vision of society. Moreover, through a range of different routes depending on whether it was spiritualist or materialist, Freemasonry, like some sectors of liberal Judaism—and Protestantism—sought to overcome faith-based divides in order to reach a single, universal religion or philosophy.

As Jacob Katz has shown, relations between the Jews and Freemasonry have taken on the status of a myth, and few historians have thus taken a real look at the role of Masonry in the integration of Jewish elites and their doctrinal development of a Jewish universalism. Yet if we take the example of France and in particular Belgium, it is clear that the close relationship that developed between some enlightened Jewish elites and Masonry must have contributed both to the socialization of these elites within that part of the bourgeoisie adhering to Enlightenment principles and to the consolidation of consistorial doctrine in its universal values, its social doctrine, and its return to the Mosaic and Prophetic sources of the Jewish religion.

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The Sephardic world The first Jews to integrate into western societies in the eighteenth century were often Sephardi, in places where the coexistence of Jews and non-Jews originated in the expulsion of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula—namely the cosmopolitan ports of London, Amsterdam, Bordeaux, and Hamburg, which were the first places where Jews and Masons encountered one another. The first Jewish Masons were Sephardi living in Amsterdam and London and in the American colonies, at a time when the Grande Loge de France, for example, made membership of the Masons, in the eighteenth century, conditional on baptism. This reflects the traces some Sephardi retained of the close links cultivated by their ancestors with Christianity until the end of the seventeenth century. Their tradition and history made them more willing than others to agree to coexist with Christian culture without giving up their own religious identity.

From the eighteenth century, many Sephardi thus became Freemasons in the Dutch Republic. Van Pelt locates between 1757 and 1765—at a time when the lodges in Amsterdam did not admit Jewish members—what he believes to be the sole confirmed case of a primarily Jewish lodge affiliated to the then recently created Dutch Grand Lodge, De Resolutie.[26] But there were more lodges with a majority of Jewish members in South America. The colonies, particularly Dutch colonies, gave civil rights to the Jews very early on. On the island of Curaçao, Daniel Cohen Peixotto founded an irregular lodge in 1743 and, even after an official Masonic order was founded in 1757, it continued to have many Jewish members. In Suriname, another Dutch colony, the lodge L'Union (1773) consisted almost entirely of Jewish members—and both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, a phenomenon still unheard of on the mainland at the time. Coexistence appeared to prove a challenge, however, with the Ashkenazi leaving L'Union in 1798 to start their own lodge, De Standvastigheid.[27] Finally, there were also many Sephardi in South American lodges in the nineteenth century, particularly in Venezuela, Colombia, and Chile.[28]

Meanwhile, Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue have demonstrated the role played by Jewish elites in the lodges of Istanbul and Thessaloniki during the period of Freemasonry's expansion in the Ottoman Empire, between 1850 and 1875.[29] French, Italian, English, Greek, and German lodges all coexisted in these two cities, all linked to countries that played a key role in the Empire's astonishing economic development. Later on, many members of Alexandria's Jewish bourgeoisie were also Masons. Lodges affiliated to the Grand Orient of France and the Grand Orient of Italy in particular disseminated liberal ideas throughout the cities

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of the Empire, helping to make native Jews receptive to western ideas. Here again, these lodges played an active role in breaking down community barriers and were also places for dialogue, in particular between Jews and Muslims, in a context where such relations were not always easy. Jewish elites had a particular presence in the lodges of the highly cosmopolitan city of Thessaloniki, the "Jerusalem of the Balkans," where the Jewish population constituted a majority.

This was also the case in Tunisia, where a greater number of Jews appear to have been Masons than in Algeria or Morocco.[30] In Morocco, however, Jews were present in the English, French, and Spanish lodges. L'Union 194, affiliated to the Grande Loge de France, was founded in Tangier, in 1867, before the creation of the Nouvelle Volubilis by Haïm Benchimol, who was also one of the local founders of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Alliance Française.[31] Along with the other, Spanish, lodges, L'Union 194 acted as a powerful driver for Europeanization.[32]

Lucien Sabah is one of the few authors to have demonstrated the role played by Freemasonry as a place of integration for Mediterranean Jews into French culture and the republican spirit. He cites the example, among others, of a Mason in Algiers who was both the lodge master and the president of the Jewish consistory.[33] In Oran, where an old, very poor, Arabized Jewish community present before the French conquest lived alongside a more recent community mostly originally from Livorno and closer to the authorities, the Jews were both westernized and stigmatized by Masonry, which was closely entangled with local political issues.

Although, according to Lucien Sabah, local Masons were unable to persuade a substantial number of Muslims to join them, despite their efforts to do so, they appeared to have little desire to make up the numbers, at the start of the French occupation, by welcoming "native" Jews. This prejudice seems to have persisted well beyond the 1840s, even though the joint struggle of 1848 in all likelihood brought together the Jewish elites and Masonry. There was a clear convergence between the views of those in the French community who wanted to eradicate Jewish traditions considered as outdated and give Jews access to French civilization, and the efforts undertaken by mainland French Judaism to get "native" Jews to support the spirit of Franco-Judaism through the work of the consistories, philanthropic societies, and the Alliance Israélite, which included individuals active in this emancipation who were also Freemasons, including some Alliance teachers.[34]

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The surge of anti-Semitic frenzy that afflicted Algeria between 1871 and 1892 also affected Algerian Masons. It hardened when Freemasons joined the anti-Jewish campaign at its height in 1898, when bloody pogroms swept through Algiers. Two years earlier, the Congress of Lodges of North Africa, held in Constantine, had expressed its wish for the Crémieux Decree to be repealed. Like the Fédération des libres penseurs d'Algérie (Algerian Federation of Freethinkers), Algerian Masonry was for a time, and in part, anti-Semitic. The Dreyfus affair even revealed that some Masons would rather break with their lodge than renounce their anti-Dreyfusard sentiments. This was particularly the case in Algeria. Geneviève Dermenjian has shown the extent to which, despite their republican, anti-clerical nature, the lodges in Oran, Constantine, Tlemcen and Mostaganem, which were active at all levels of social life and urban politics, did not diverge from the view of other Europeans on questions concerning the Jews. The majority of lodges in Algeria clearly shared the widespread anti-Semitism of the 1890s. Masonic anti-Semitism therefore certainly existed, and not only in the colony. The Saint Jean de Jérusalem lodge in Nancy thus decided, in 1897, not to admit a Jewish candidate for initiation, and was reprimanded for clearly violating Masonic rules by arguing on the basis of the candidate's Jewishness. Vanessa Ragache is right to suppose that "this lodge was undoubtedly not the only one to infringe Masonic law"; at least one Parisian lodge, La Fraternité des Peuples, also seems to have been struck by the plague of anti-Semitism.[35]

Notable Jews and Freemasonry In both western Europe and in the colonies, Masonry therefore played a role as a channel for Jewish integration from the eighteenth century onward, but not solely for philosophical reasons. The example of Frankfurt's Morgenröte clearly shows that while the intellectual ambition to create a common framework within which Jews and Christians could come together, enter into dialogue, and fraternize may certainly have predominated, the role of social and economic aspirations should not be overlooked. If the majority of Jewish Masons were merchants it was because the lodges, like other places of sociability—few of which existed at the time—constituted a framework within which Jewish businessmen could end their community's isolation and open up to the world for their greater benefit, a framework within which the transformation of both the Jewish community and the way in which Jews were perceived can be observed.

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Bruno Étienne's demonstration of the way in which Freemasonry served as a vector for the upward social mobility of Jewish families in the nineteenth century in Aix-en-Provence, before their abandonment of both Freemasonry and Judaism, has been confirmed by Iet Erdtsieck in relation to the Dutch province of Overijssel.[36] In certain periods—including around 1870—Erdtsieck has found that over 15 percent of members were Jewish in lodges including Le Profond Silence in Kampen, or even 20 percent in the Fides Mutua in Zwolle and the Tubantia in Enschede, at a time when the Jewish population of Overijssel never exceeded 1.6 percent of the total population.[37] But from the end of the century, which coincided with the full participation of Jews in Dutch society, the presence of Jews in lodges declined markedly. The same pattern is therefore seen in both cases. Erdtsieck adds nuance to the picture, however, by showing that the decreased appeal of Freemasonry at the end of the century played a role in combination with the awareness of a new Jewish identity as well as an orthodox reaction.

After 1830 we can therefore observe a gradual normalization of the access of Jews to Freemasonry in emancipated countries, at the very time and in the very place where Freemasonry became truly universalist. This was the case in France, where the figure of Adolphe Crémieux dominated Jewish and Masonic circles. It was the case in Belgium, where Freemasonry welcomed Jews, as much for reasons of social integration that were not specific to it as for particular reasons related to the fierce conflict between liberals and clericals. All, or almost all, senior community leaders belonged to a lodge, along with a large part of the upper middle classes and the bourgeoisie, particularly in Anvers and above all in Brussels, not to mention numerous Jewish intellectuals and Polish Jewish exiles of 1830.[38] The majority of community leaders were therefore Masons, along with almost all the presidents of the Consistory, a large number of Consistory members and the governing board of the Jewish community of Brussels and several leaders of the community in Anvers. The Free University of Brussels, founded by Masons, had four Jewish rectors in the nineteenth century, all Masons: Gottlieb Gluge, Martin Philippson, Adolphe Prins, and Paul Errera.[39]

The same could be seen in the Netherlands, but to a lesser extent: the last lodges that refused to open their doors to Jews on principle finally opened to them in 1817. Erdtsieck cites, among others, the case of Seligman Susan, master between 1862 and 1872 of the Le Préjugé Vaincu lodge in Deventer, in the north of the country, who was president of the local Jewish community at the same time; this was also the

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case for two of his direct successors.[40] In Luxembourg, the Les Enfants de la Concorde Fortifiée lodge had several Jewish members from 1818 onward, and Louis Godchaux, president of the Luxembourg Jewish community from 1882 to 1906, was a member from at least 1867.[41]

The same was also true in Great Britain, where Moses Montefiore, initiated in 1812 to the Jewish lodge Mount Moriah, gave his name to two Masonic lodges. The second Jew to enter the UK parliament, he acquired the status of an international Jewish leader and was head of the Board of Deputies of British Jews from 1838 to 1874. To an even greater extent than clubs, the hubs of English sociability, Freemasonry—the anglophone, "regular" kind, fundamentally different from continental Masonry—provided a ticket of entry into liberal, cultivated English society. Whether or not through primarily Jewish lodges, English Jews thus acquired status, respectability, and familiarity with British culture.[42] This was welcomed by the English Jewish press—such as the monthly *Jewish Chronicle,* founded by Mason Isaac Vallentine—which published information on lodge activities in its pages and reported the passage of Jewish Masons toward higher degrees or major roles and responsibilities.[43]

Finally, the same could also be seen in the United States from the mid-eighteenth century, and then in Australia. The leaders of the newly formed Sydney Synagogue, around 1840, were members of the Lodge of Australia, of whom 15 to 20 percent of members were Jewish, and things were similar in Melbourne.[44] To such an extent that, with the concomitant development of Masonry and the Jewish community in this colony, it became relatively common for members of the Jewish establishment, or even the majority of rabbis and officiants, to become Masons. This practice sat within the very specific context of social interactions in a country of immigration: it was not therefore rare, in return, for major events in Jewish community life to be graced by the presence and active participation of the Masonic authorities.

This overview has therefore set out the hypothesis of the role of Freemasonry in the integration of some western Jewish elites, particularly in France, while seeking to encourage more in-depth research into the topic, based on the available Masonic archives: from lodge meetings recorded in minutes (or "tracings"), to the correspondence maintained between jurisdictions and affiliates, or the "lodge boards" consisting of elements identifying members, valuable sources are available from lodges themselves and in the archives of Masonic jurisdictions, which are often open to researchers. For there would appear to be a real need to integrate

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Freemasonry into the history of post-Emancipation Judaism.

It must however be admitted that it is difficult to draw up a sociology of Masonic membership, and to speculate on a sociology of Jews in Masonry. An individual's membership of the Masons constituted merely one aspect of his commitments and affiliations. It would be dangerous to overestimate this aspect of identity, which is difficult to isolate and objectify, and unrealistic to think that we might segment the life of a "plural actor" defined also by his family ties, political and philosophical affinities, professional occupations, and so on, and to consider his membership of the Masons, detached from this spectrum as a whole, as relating solely to the private sphere. The Masons were not a homogeneous social group, nor a homogeneous socialization matrix. The plural nature of behavior among social actors always requires the use of conceptual tools to consider such diversity; the same is true when considering the relationship between Judaism and Freemasonry in terms of membership.

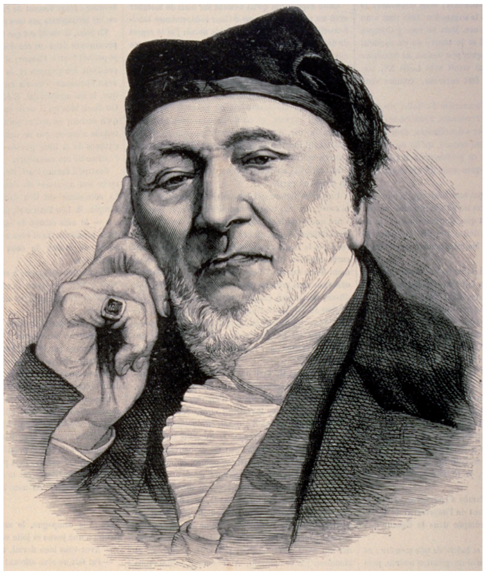
Image 2: *Sir Moses Montefiore (Livorno, 1784 – Ramsgate, 1885),* L'Univers israélite, *1885. Photo Mario Goldman. © MAHJ*

The fact remains that finding themselves in circles with profoundly different rituals and symbols, where initiation combined with the oath constituted a rite of passage fundamentally different to Judaism and with distinct forms of sociability, represented a major change for these Jews. But it is also true that a number of those who joined the Freemasons had previously undergone such a change in other types of societies or guilds. Integration certainly requires not only adherence to values and systems of thinking common to all men, but also adaptation to the social practices involved in this shared humanity. As an intellectual, spiritual, and philosophical form of appropriation, membership of the Freemasons in turn led Masons to draw on their Masonic virtues, Masonic teaching, and voyage of initiation in the profane world. This can be identified—though here again a more nuanced analysis is required—in the Masonic flavor of certain Reform Jewish practices (such as the replacement of the

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bar mitzvah with confirmation, the profession of faith in confirmations or in weddings, death rituals, and so on), as well as in the ideological forms and rhetoric employed in philanthropic discourse, for example. This poses the question of Masonic influence on nineteenth-century Jewish social reformers.

Liberal or Reform Jewish circles were not however the only ones to include Masons among their ranks. Moses Montefiore himself, a Jew and eminent Mason, was profoundly orthodox and opposed to religious reforms—admittedly in an English Jewish community strongly influenced by the surrounding Christian society. This also brings us back to the question of the presence of Christian symbolism in Masonry and the way in which its Jewish members were able to adapt to it. It is true that outside the lodges, the same kind of adaptation was sometimes necessary, in a now open society where the esthetic reforms of the Jewish faith included a number of Christian references, such as in civil cemeteries where Jewish and Christian symbols coexisted.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing the fact that, for a long period of time, Freemasonry was a place of sociability, dialogue, and fraternization with non-Jews solely for a very small number of emancipated, educated Jews open to European culture. Some of them may have played a non-negligible role as cultural bridges for their community of origin, particularly as they held senior positions within it. But the fact remains that the majority of Jewish people mostly continued to be attached to tradition and unaware of this route toward knowledge of others—or had different relationships with the society around them. Yet still, in places where, in the global society, Christians and Jews often despised or were ignorant of one another, Christian—or secularized—and Jewish elites somehow became acquainted with one another in the Masonic lodges.

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Translated and edited by Cadenza Academic Translations
Translator: Hayley Wood, Editor: Faye Winsor, Senior editor: Mark Mellor

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Abstract

The encounter between Judaism and Freemasonry was the result of two "dialogical" phenomena. On the one hand, from the second half of the eighteenth century onward, the Jewish community became increasingly fragmented, evolving into a pluralist society by the nineteenth century. On the other hand, Freemasonry both in Europe and in America became one of the first "melting pots" that opened itself to the religious "other." Freemasonry gradually welcomed more and more Jewish members, even though this tolerance remained extremely limited in certain countries, particularly in Germany. This article examines the factors that led to the presence of the Jewish elite, especially Jewish social reformers, in Masonic lodges. It highlights the fact that Freemasonry was for them a driving force behind realizing their intellectual and social aspirations, and was both the framework and the testing ground for their emancipation.

NOTES

1. Jean-Philippe Schreiber and Luc Nefontaine, *Judaïsme et franc-maçonnerie. Histoire d'une fraternité* [Judaism and Freemasonry. The History of a Brotherhood] (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000), 25 et sq.
2. Samuel Oppenheim, *The Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1910).
3. Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, "Brothers or Strangers? Jews and Freemasons in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *German History* 18 (2000): 143–61; on the concept of *Bildung*, see Daniel Azuélos, *L'Entrée en bourgeoisie des Juifs allemands ou le paradigme libéral (1800–1933)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005).
4. Jacob Katz dedicates a chapter to them in *Jews and Freemasons in Europe: 1723–1939,* translated from the Hebrew by Leonard Oschry (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).
5. Daniel Ligou, ed., *Dictionnaire de la franc-maçonnerie* [Dictionary of Freemasonry] (Paris: PUF, 1987), 208.
6. Strongly influenced by Friedrich Schiller, a convert to Lutheranism after an education marked by the birth of Reform Judaism, Ludwig Börne was one of the leading figures in the struggle for Jewish civic and political equality in Germany. He left Frankfurt for Paris in 1830, at the same time and for reasons similar to Heinrich Heine. See Paul Arnsberg, *Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden seit der Französischen Revolution* [The History of the Jews in Frankfurt since the French Revolution] (Darmstadt: Roether, 1983), vol. 1, 232 et sq.
7. On this topic see Dominique Bourel, "Deutsche Juden in Paris. Ludwig Börne," in *Ludwig Börne. Deutscher, Jude, Demokrat*, eds. Frank Stern and Maria Gierlinger (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 2003), 105–117.
8. The first Jewish judge in Germany, Riesser led the struggle for Jewish civic equality and became a leading liberal politician. See Manfred Steffens, *Freimaurer in*

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Deutschland. Bilanz eines Vierteljahrtausends [The Freemasons in Germany: A 250 Year History] (Flensburg: Christian Wolff Verlag, 1964), 237–238.

9. The son of a rabbi, Auerbach wrote one of the most successful books of his time, *Barfüssele* [Bare Feet].
10. Jacob J. Petuchowski, "Frankfurt Jewry. A Model of Transition to Modernity," in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, XXIX (1984): 405–418.
11. Although, like the lodges in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the Grand Lodge of Germany, one of the three Berlin mother lodges, continued to refuse Jews admission on the basis of its Christian character.
12. Arnsberg, *Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden*, 234; Stanley L. Hoffmann, *Die Politik der Geselligkeit: Freimaurerlogen in der deutschen Bürgergesellschaft, 1840–1918* [The Politics of Sociability: Masonic Lodges in German Civil Society, 1840–1918] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 76.
13. Arnsberg, *Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden*, 239.
14. Orations published under the title: *Stimmen aus Osten, eine Sammlung von Reden und Betrachtungen maurerischen Inhalts* [Voices from the East: A Collection of Speeches and Commentaries of Masonic Content] (Hamburg, 1845).
15. Jean-Philippe Schreiber, "Le grand-rabbin de Belgique Élie Aristide Astruc et l'enseignement du judaïsme, 1866–1879" [The Grand Rabbi of Belgium Élie Aristide Astruc and the Teaching of Judaism], in *Libre pensée et pensée libre. Combats et débats*, eds. Andrée Despy-Meyer and Hervé Hasquin (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1996), 139–158.
16. Arnsberg, *Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden*, 241.
17. Jacob Katz, "Samuel Hirsch: Rabbi, philosopher and freemason," *Revue des études juives*, CXXV, 1–3 (1966): 113–126.
18. Alexandre Marius Dées de Stério, *Essai d'histoire de la franc-maçonnerie dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* [Essay on the History of Freemasonry in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg] (Luxembourg: V. Buck, 1939).
19. Michael Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 72 et sq.; Samuel Hirsch, *Die Humanität als Religion in Voträgen gehalten in der Loge zu Luxemburg* [The Religion of Humanity: Speeches Made at the Luxembourg Lodge] (Trèves, 1854).
20. See in particular John M. Shaftesley, "Jews in English Freemasonry in the 18th and 19th Centuries," *A.Q.C. Transactions of Quatuor Coronati Lodge* 92 (1980): 36–37.
21. *The Israelite*, August 3, 1866.
22. In Austria, lodges were forced to cease their activities at the end of the eighteenth century. All attempts to rebuild Austrian Masonry in the following century failed, despite a brief resurgence in 1848.
23. Artur Eisenbach, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 258.
24. Daniel Tollet, *Histoire des Juifs en Pologne, du XVI*e *siècle à nos jours* (Paris: PUF, 1992), 221.
25. Meyer, *Response to Modernity.*
26. Robert Jan Van Pelt, "De loge als speel-en oefenplaats der joodse emancipatie in Holland" [The Masonic Lodge as a Laboratory for Jewish Emancipation in the Netherlands], *Thoth. Tijdschrift voor Vrijmetselaren* 2 (1979): 75.

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27. Van Pelt, “De loge,” 78–86.
28. Léon Zeldis, “Aportas Sefarditas a la Francmasonería” [What the Sephardi Contributed to Freemasonry], in *Masonería Española y América*, ed. José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli (Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Históricos de La Masonería, 1993), 591–612.
29. Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *The Jews of the Balkans: The Judeo-Spanish Community, 15th to 20th Centuries* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1995), 78–79; See also Aron Rodrigue, *De l’instruction à l’émancipation: Les enseignants de l’Alliance israélite universelle et les juifs d’Orient, 1860–1939* [From Teaching to Emancipation: The Teachers of the Alliance israélite universelle and the Jews of the East, 1860–1939] (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1994).
30. Éric Saunier, ed., *Encyclopédie de la franc-maçonnerie* [Encyclopedia of Freemasonry] (Paris: Livre de Poche, 2000), 529.
31. Sarah Leibovici, *Judios y masones en Tetuan y Tanger (segunda mitad del siglo XIX)* [Jews and Freemasons in Tetouan and Tangier (second half of the 19th century)], Caracas, 1984, extract from *Escudo* no. 53 (1984): 45–49.
32. Georges Odo, *Les Francs-maçons au Maroc sous la IIIe République* [Freemasons in Morocco under the Third Republic] (Paris: Éditions maçonniques de France, 1999).
33. Lucien Sabah, “La franc-maçonnerie et l’antisémitisme” [Freemasonry and Anti-Semitism], *Revue des études juives* CLV, nos. 1–2 (1996): 116.
34. Lucien Sabah cites examples of this in *La franc-maçonnerie à Oran*, *1832–1914* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1990), for example on p. 480.
35. Sabah, *La franc-maçonnerie à Oran,* 494; Vanessa Ragache, *Le Grand Orient de France et l’affaire Dreyfus. Mythes et réalités (1894–1906)* [The Grand Orient of France the Dreyfus Affair. Myths and Realities] (Paris: Éditions maçonniques de France, 1998), 90.
36. Bruno Étienne, “Note sur quelques juifs francs-maçons de Provence” [Paper on Certain Jewish Freemasons in Provence], in *Les relations intercommunautaires juives en méditerranée occidentale, XIIIe-XXe siècles,* ed. Jean-Louis Miège (Paris: CNRS, 1984), 270–274.
37. Iet Erdtsieck, “De loge als werk-en bezinningsplaats der joodse emancipatie in Overijssel, 1818–1940” [The Masonic Lodge as a Place of Reflection and Exercise for the Emancipation of the Jews in the Province of Overijssel, 1818–1940], *Thoth. Tijdschrift voor Vrijmetselaren* (Den Haag) 45, no. 2 (April 1994): 37–50.
38. See in particular Marcel De Schampheleire, “De loge La Persévérance (1832–1850)” [La Persévérance Lodge (1832–1850)], in *Annuaire du Grand Orient de Belgique*, 5972, 77–119.
39. Jean-Philippe Schreiber, *Politique et religion: le Consistoire central israélite de Belgique au XIXe siècle* [Politics and Religion: The Israelite Central Consistory in Nineteenth-Century Belgium] (Brussels: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 1995), 286 et sq.
40. Erdtsieck, “De loge,” 37–50.
41. Katz, *Jews and Freemasons*, 170; Alexandre Marius Dées de Stério, *La Franc-maçonnerie au Luxembourg* [Freemasonry in Luxembourg] (Paris: Ed. maçonniques de France, 1998), 71 and 75; Dées de Stério, *Essai d’histoire de la franc-maçonnerie* [Essay on the History of Freemasonry]*;* Chanan Lehrmann, *La Communauté juive du Luxembourg dans le passé et dans le présent* [The Jewish

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Community of Luxembourg Past and Present] (Esch-sur-Alzette: Imprimerie coopérative luxembourgeoise, 1953), 126.

42. Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880–1920* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 152.
43. Shaftesley, "Jews in English Freemasonry," 42.
44. Raymond Apple, "Australian Jews and Freemasonry", in *Freemasonry Uncovered*, eds. K. Henderson and G. Love, *The Victorian Lodge of Research* 218, no. IX (Victoria, Australia): 20 et sq.

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Prologue The invention of the “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy”. Avatars of a modern apocalyptic myth

Pierre-André Taguieff

In **Revue d’Histoire de la Shoah 2013/1 (No. 198),** pages 23 to 97

Article

1 Lhe “Judeo-Masonry” is a chimerical entity. It is the product of a essentialization or ontologization of a set of rumors based on fears from various sources, transformed by Catholic propaganda in the 19th century It is century into legend, even modern political myth. This is of course a repulsive myth, which results in a grand narrative observable in multiple variations. Because to the collective subject that is “Judeo-Masonry” is attributed a main activity: its struggle to subjugate and dominate humankind, through slow corruption and violent destruction. We are thus faced with a great tale of terror, that of the “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy”, in and through which the fictional narrative identity of the absolute enemy of the human race is constructed, interpreted by Christian polemicists of apocalyptic inspiration. like the historical figure of the Antichrist or that of [2]

Satan . The enemy of the human race is at the same time the enemy of God. This is the profound meaning of the “Judeo-Masonic peril” denounced at the end of the 19th It is century. “Judeo-Masonism” designates both a conjunction of forces from which a more or less visible power derives, and an ideology or doctrine, which results in a political project centered on the seizure of power. The “Judeo-Masons” therefore appear to be the “children of the devil” of the modern age.

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2 But modernity itself is a creation of the devil, in that it is, for an intransigent Catholicism theorized by Pius IX (from 1850) and especially Leo XIII, the product of a vast anti-Christian conspiracy. Modernization is seen as "Judaization" implying dechristianization. In the 1860s and 1870s, many resolutely anti-modern Catholic polemicists, fighting against "the enemies of the Church", saw in it the hand of the devil, secret inspiration of Freemasonry through its supposed Jewish leadership. The "satanic plot" clearly took place in the 1880s and 1890s, carried by the mystification of Gabriel-Antoine Jogand-Pagès (1854-1907), known as Léo Taxil, the status of a Counter-Church [3], to confer on "Judeo-Masonry" the patronized by Lucifer himself. In the second volume of Le *Diable au xix siècle,* published under It is the pseudonym "Doctor Bataille", chapter thirty-three is devoted to the theme: "The Jews in Freemasonry". It ends with a rhetorical question: "Who could maintain […] that Masonic Jewry is not animated by the most infernal hatred in the fight against the Church? ". But the Church's anti-Masonic propaganda had prepared people's minds to believe the extravagant fables of the genius swindler. On January 1, 1894, *L'Écho de Rome* cited extracts is from an article published in *L'Osservatore Romano:* "Freemasonry is satanic in every way […]. She is satanic, now making common cause with Judaism. Freemasonry is, in fact, the main force and the indispensable weapon used by Judaism to banish the reign of Jesus Christ from this world and replace it with the reign of Satan. […] For a long time now, the infernal militias have been unleashed […]. In the back rooms, the cult of Satan is already organized [4]. »

3 If the "Church of Satan" or "the Church of Lies", as Alexandre de Saint-Albin (1818-1879) explains, "remains a hidden Church" and remains in the "kingdom of darkness" *(Du cult de Satan,* 1867), we understand that its agents operate in the shadow of "secret societies", such as Freemasonry. The same Saint-Albin affirms in *The Freemasons and the Secret Societies* what [5] that "Freemasonry is to Christian society Satan is to man, the Enemy! ". It is around this Luciferian figure that Christian demonology was reinvented in the 19th century, It is [6]. His transition to politics secularizing it only in a superficial way. The racist interpretation of the great conspiracy narrative thus preserves the essentials of the apocalyptic schema, as is clear in the texts of the highest Nazi dignitaries, starting with those of Adolf Hitler and by Alfred Rosenberg [7]. But the racialization of the repulsive myth had begun as early as the 1880s, in France and Germany.

4 The great novelty of the 1920s and 1930s was the emergence of a new historical figure of the satanic threat: Bolshevism. The anti-Judeo-Masonic myth, from 1918-1920, will have to incorporate this newcomer, giving it the status of an offshoot of "Judeo-Masonism" as a project of conquest and domination, even of terror.

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and extermination. In its completed form, the great horror story will include in a

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same representation of the absolute enemy, that is, the one supposed to want to kill us and who we must therefore kill – preventively –, a certain number of other figures embodying abstract threats, all of which are reducible to the following four: the “Jewish peril” , the “Masonic peril” (or “Judeo-Masonic”), the “Red peril” (or “Judeo-Bolshevik”), “international finance” (“Judeo-capitalism”, “Judeo-plutocracy”, etc. .). The “Jewish conspiracy” thus plays the role of the proto-plot, the great chronologically first conspiracy, at the same time as that of the paradigmatic conspiracy and that of the hidden dimension of all other conspiracies. This is why this symbolic construction is the principle of a recasting of the ideologized hatred of the Jews, which has usually been called “anti-Semitism” since the years

1880.

But to understand the final fusion or confusion of Jews and Freemasons as satanic enemies, we must go back to the first centuries of the first millennium. As Daniel Pipes has suggested, we can consider that the two main currents of modern and contemporary conspiracyism, anti-Masonism and anti-Semitism, have had "parallel histories" and are part of "conspiracy traditions" which have been formed during the time of the Crusades, from 1096 (start of the first crusade) for anti-Judaism and from 1307 (arrest of the Templars on the order of Philip the Fair) for secret societies. These conspiratorial traditions took a new form, after the French Revolution, in the counter-revolutionary culture which ended, around the middle of the 19th century, by integrating Jews into secret societies (imagined on the model of Freemasonry and of the Illuminated of Bavaria) accused of having organized the great plot against the Monarchy and the Church. This explains why when analyzing Judeophobia and anti-Masonism, we encounter the same fundamental themes, common beliefs and reciprocal influences, and also why the categories of designated culprits [8] overlap. 5

It is

In his book on the history of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* Norman Cohn proposed characterizing the "exterminating anti-Semitism" of the 20th century by attributing to the Jews a global conspiracy of a satanic nature, the secularized heritage of a whole of beliefs formed in medieval times: 6

It is

> The most virulent anti-Semitism [the deadliest form of anti-Semitism], that which results in massacres and attempted genocide […], has at its core the belief that Jews – all Jews, everywhere – are an integral part of 'a conspiracy determined to ruin and then dominate the rest of humanity. And this belief is simply a modernized and secularized version of popular medieval representations, according to which the Jews were a league of sorcerers employed by Satan for the spiritual and physical ruin [9] of Christianity 7

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8 **This satanizing vision of the Jews as a conspiratorial international sect could not have been constituted, however, without the demonization by the Church of Freemasonry, nor without the assimilation, in different forms, of Freemasons to Jews, to bring about the emergence of specter of "Judeo-Masonry".**

From the "Jewish conspiracy" to the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy"

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9 **The theological-religious myth of the "Jewish plot" had existed for several centuries when the political-religious myth of the "Masonic plot" began to take shape at the end of the 18th century, above all to explain a seemingly inexplicable event, the French Revolution. . For the first counter-revolutionary authors, the latter could only be the result of the concerted action of members of a formidable conspiracy obeying the same center of direction, and according to a program fixed in advance. This was the invention of the "Masonic plot", which quickly amalgamated with the "Jacobin plot", in a historical moment characterized by uncertainty, anxiety and disarray. Modern conspiracy mythology thus begins to take shape in a discourse claiming to ward off the "Masonic plot" whose objective would be to destroy Christian civilization and upset the social order deemed "natural". The said "Masonic plot" began to be developed from 1790-1791, notably with the pamphlet of Abbé Lefranc (1739-1792): *The Veil lifted for the curious, or the Secret of the Revolution revealed, with the help of the Freemasonry* (1791), reaching maturity in the years 1797-1799, when Abbot Augustin de Barruel (1741-1820) published his *Memoirs to serve as a guide* London (4 vols.), then in Hamburg (5 [10]. He gives the canonical formulation of the vols.) conspiratorial reading of the course of modern history, affirming that it should lead to the French Revolution, effect and proof of the "Masonic conspiracy": "In this French Revolution , everything down to its most appalling crimes, everything was planned, meditated, combined, resolved, decided: everything was the effect of the deepest villainy, since everything was prepared, brought by men who alone had the thread of conspiracies long hatched in secret societies, and who knew how to choose and hasten the moments propitious to plots.» Represented in France by the Jesuit Barruel, counter-revolutionary anti-Masonism was represented in England by a Protestant mathematician, John Robison (1739-1805), author of *Proofs of a Conspiracy Against All the Religions and* [11]. Himself a Scottish Rite Freemason, he wanted to *Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies* also provided "evidence of a conspiracy to destroy all governments and religions", alerted governments of the danger, and informed Freemasons tha**

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10 The Jewish plots denounced since medieval times were local plots, due to the initiative of Jews supposedly wanting to satisfy a thirst for revenge or pursue their particular interests. Any Jewish plot denounced was attributed to particular Jews, and not to Jews in general: its subject was not a universal subject. Furthermore, the Jews, in the eye of the Christian world, formed only a vestigial people, and as such could play the role of a witness people. To become a universal conspiracy during the 19th century, the Jewish conspiracy had to merge with the Masonic conspiracy. Because Freemasonry, in the conspiracy thinking of Catholic obedience, has been polemically constructed as the symmetrical opposite of the Church. The good catholicity of the Church responded to the worrying existence of the bad universality of the Counter-Church which Freemasonry appeared to be, a collective actor posed as a satanic rival of the Church. The idea of a Judeo-Masonic collusion allowed the Jewish conspiracy to go beyond the limits of the local and the particular, to constitute itself as a global conspiracy attributed to a universal subject, actor of History, at the same time as the Jewish people. lost its status as a survivor to take on the appearance of an emerging power, the incarnation of a present and future threat.

11 The idea of a "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy", namely that of a secret alliance between the senior leaders of the Jewish people and the leaders of Freemasonry, appeared long before the formation of the "Judeo-Masonic" polemical amalgam -masons", “Judeo-Masonry” or “Judeo-Masonism”. But this key idea itself would only be disseminated in a confidential manner, in France as in Germany, until the end of the 1850s. It would become, during the last thirty years of the 19th century, an interpretative model of contemporary history, at the same time as the matrix of themes of accusation, negative stereotypes and slogans targeting the Jews, fueling the strictly "anti-Semitic" discourse, based on the pseudo-scientific amalgam "Jew = Semite" defining the racialized Judeophobia which passes into politics, notably in Germany and France, in the last twenty years of the 19th century racialization of the Jew is only one component of the modern political myth which is the "Judeo-Masonic peril", based on the denunciation of a great conspiracy ordered for the purposes of exploitation, corruption, domination, even extermination of non-Jews – Christians or “Aryans”, in the first two variants of the conspiracy [12] . But the myth. It is around this accusation which then became central that the anti-Semitic vision of History is organized which “presents the Jew as a satanic force, as the source of all the evils of humanity, from its origins to our times. days

[13] ».

12 Before entering into the analysis of the major moments of the invention of the anti-Judeo-Masonic myth, it is appropriate to emphasize the importance of the coupling of hostile figures in the polemical discourse. The hyphen postulates the existence of a secret link between the figures or entities it connects. In expressions of the “Judeo-Masonism” type, “Judeo-Masonry” or “Judeo-Masonic”, two distinct entities, in principle

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heterogeneous, are connected by a hyphen. The use of the latter gives rise to an amalgam of polemical usage, designating an adversary or a bi-facial enemy. This amalgam logically presupposes the two equivalences: “Jews = Masons”, and “Masons = Jews”. The hyphen indicates a conjunction whose meaning remains uncertain, in that it suggests either *association,* voluntary (alliance, contract) or not (instrumentalization, manipulation), or fusion , assimilation or identification , by reduction of the two entities to a community of essence, or even to an identity of essence. Masons can thus play the role of allies or accomplices of the Jews as well as that of simple instruments of the latter. With the expressions formed from "Judeo" and "Masonry", "Masonic", "Masonism", as they are observable from the 1890s, we are no longer in the presence of occasional compounds, but of fixed compounds. , whose ordinary uses are both expressive and polemical. Furthermore, “Judeo-Masonry” can be considered as a quasi-proper name, designating a new historical actor whose nature is composite, relating as much to the people, to the nation or to the ethnic group, or even to the “race”. , that of the sect or the secret society. It is If “Judeo-Masonism” became the most common polemical compound name at the end of the 19th century, it should not make us forget, for example, what the anti-Jewish polemicist “Kimon” called “Semito-Germanism” in 1889. thereby designating the alliance between Jews and Germans against France: according to the author of *La Politique Israelite,* “Germanism” and “Israelitism” act as accomplices, and, if “Judaism attributes to itself a crazy mission and absurd, that of dominating the world", he does not admit his other mission, which "consists of being the auxiliary of all invasions", starting with the German invasion. We will be careful not to forget “Judeo-Germanism”. The art critic Camille Mauclair, in a pamphlet published in 1930, *Les Métèques contre l'art français,* denounces "the massive offensive against French painting by Judeo-German theories and [14] . » The controversial amalgamations between the Jews and the Saint-Simonians works", which one would like to "impose » to “artists of France” to subject them to “a Semitic intellectual dictatorship”, and is indignant: “Not only has Judeo-Germanism cornered the market, but it intends to conquer the soul were common in the 19th[15] century. In 1869, the Proudhonist Georges Duchêne, in his anti-Saint-Simo

The emergence of the “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy”: the “letter from Simonini” to Barruel

13 **In his explanation of the French Revolution as a Masonic-Jacobin plot in which the Illuminati of Bavaria, led by Adam Weishaupt (1748-1830), played a central role, Abbot Barruel gave little importance to the Jews. It was quite different in 1806, when Napoleon I decided to bring together the "Grand Sanhedrin" in order to find a solution to what already appeared to be the "Jewish question", an initiative which worried various anti-Jewish circles. The famous "letter from Jean-Baptiste Simonini to Father Augustin de Barruel", dated August 1, 1806 and which would have been received by Barruel on August 20, 1806 (it is in fact a forgery of uncertain origins), testifies to the existence of the representation of a worrying "Judaic sect" presented as the ally of all the other "infernal sects which prepare the paths for the Antichrist", in particular that of the Freemasons, all enemies of Christianity with comments[16] . Said letter will be published by Father Grivel, close to Barruel, in the Catholic magazine *Le Contemporain,* in July 1878, in a context marked by interference between the anti-Masonic campaign launched by the Church and the beginnings of the anti-Semitic movement, in France as in other countries. other European countries. The thesis of secret collusion is thus stated: "The Jews therefore with all the other sectarians form only one faction, to annihilate, if possible, the Christian name. » The members of the "Judaic sect", which embodies "the most formidable power today", are accused of being driven by the project of becoming, "in less than a century", "the masters of the world" , even if it means "abolishing all other sects to make theirs reign". We therefore already find in this forgery, probably fabricated either by the secret police (Fouché) or by Barruel himself, the thesis according to which the Jews manipulate or exploit Freemasonry in their fight against Christianity and the monarchy, a a fight which would prove the existence of a secret action program – the very one which, almost a century later (1903-1905), would allegedly be revealed by the publication of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion.* In *Le Contemporain,* we also find a note from Barruel alluding to the existence of a great plot dating back to the Templars, supposed allies of the Jews: "To conceive this hatred of the Jews against the kings of France, we must go back to Philip the Fair, who in the year 1306 expelled all the Jews from France and seized all their property. From there, subsequently, common cause with the Templars […].**
I learned from a Freemason initiated into the great mysteries of the sect that there were many Jews, especially in the high ranks. »

14 **In the "Simonini letter", we find most of the ingredients of the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy" as it became the main target of anti-Jewish polemicists during the last two decades of the 19th century. The central idea is this: far** It is **of being only the collection of believers in Judaism, the Jews in reality form an "anti-Christian sect" or an international secret society driven by the project of dominating the world, and Freemasonry is one of their satanic creations . In 1815 an anonymous libelle appeared entitled *The New Judaism or Freemasonry Unveiled,* which reaffirms the existence of a dark alliance between Jews and Freemasons against**

Christian religion and royalty. The author, strongly influenced by the anti-Masonism of Barruel, and declared supporter of the Restoration, states the thesis of a community of nature between Jews and Freemasons, as in this remark made about the degree of Rosicrucian: "Let us no longer be surprised if the Freemasons are so bold persecutors of the Children of the Church: they are Jews, they admit it. » But this conspiratorial libel, notably because of its low circulation, remains without echo. In Germany, a pamphlet appears [17] . The year anonymously (due to Johann Christian Ehrmann), which denounces "Jewry in Freemasonry": the stated intention of its author, an anti-Jewish Mason, is to warn his brothers against the Jews, who would enter Masonic lodges in order to transform them into instruments of world domination.

Doctrinal development: apocalypticism and Satanism

In France, we had to wait until the end of the 1860s and the 1870s to see the thesis of Judeo-Masonic collusion widely disseminated in Catholic circles. It was with the work of Henri Roger Gougenot des Mousseaux (1805-1876), ***The Jew, Judaism and the Judaization of Christian Peoples*** **(1869), that an elaborate vision of an apocalyptic orientation was offered to the Catholic public. , of the universal Jewish conspiracy in which Freemasonry, supposedly of Jewish origin, plays the role of a privileged ally the central thesis is the following: [18] . on "Masonry, resulting from the mysterious doctrines of the cabal […], does not is the modern and main form of occultism, of which the Jew is the prince, because he was in all centuries the prince and the great master of the cabal. The Jew is therefore naturally […] the soul, the head, the real great master of masonry, whose known dignitaries are, most of the time, only the deceptive and deceived leaders of the order. » Now, the "Kabbalist Jews" are "Satan worshipers". This traditionalist and counter-revolutionary Catholic is a resolute anti-modernist, who reduces the modern world to the result of the "Judaization" of Christian civilization, that is to say its progressive destruction. Gougenot des Mousseaux is convinced that "all the social and anti-Christian upheavals" which are shaking the world are "the work of Freemasons and Jews", and that through these revolutionary upheavals, Freemasonry being only an instrument in the hands of the Jews, it is "the triumph of the Jew" which is being prepared. He announces the coming of the Antichrist and denounces the secret alliance of Jews and Freemasons with the aim of destroying Christianity and establishing ruthless Jewish domination. To "dechristianize the world" is, ultimately, to put the world in the hands of Satan. "The Jew", he prophesies, is "the one who prepares us, in the shadow of the secret societies of which he is the soul and the prince, a near and formidable future".**

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The Freemasons therefore appear as the privileged allies or accomplices of the Jews, as Édouard Drumont suggests in 1886, in a passage from *La France Juive* where he deals with the French Revolution: the Jews "fall behind Freemasonry, in 1790, and became the absolute masters of a country which they detached little by little, with prodigious astuteness, from all the traditions which made its greatness and its strength. For Canon Emmanuel Chabauty (1827-1914), author (under the pseudonym CC de Saint-André) of *Jews and Freemasons. Sixth Age of the Church after the Apocalypse* (1880) to establish the "universal domination" of the Jews thanks to the "formidable Masonic army" which will allow, through carefully planned upheavals such as the Reformation or the French Revolution, the destruction of "the Christian idea [20] " and "the entire Christian social order"

[19], the alliance of the "Princes of Judah" and secret societies aims

. In 1882, Chabauty reformulated one of the theses that was already found in the "Simonini letter": "Through their gold, their skill, their perseverance, the Jewish Princes managed to take over all the secret societies. They became its supreme and sole directors. They have held them in their hands since they unified and linked them all, by more or less secret links, to Templar Freemasonry. They have thus regimented and organized, under their authority, all the elements of evil and Revolution that exist throughout the world. » He clearly sets out the thesis of the instrumental character of Freemasonry: "It is by means of this formidable engine of destruction, which I have called "Judaic Masonry", that they ["the Jewish Princes"] want to remove all obstacles to their secular designs, namely: Christian ideas, institutions and nations. Their infernal work is greatly advanced. More than ever they hope to bring it to an end, and become the sole masters of the world. » Revolution, Republic, Masonry and Jewry form one and the same anti-Christian power, acting according to a certain division of labor: "At the present time, the Revolution, in all its reality, is *the Jewish nation acting throughout the world , by the orders of its leaders, in several army corps and under several banners, inside, outside* and *against* Catholic and Christian society. » If the "high leaders of Judah" lead the anti-Christian dance of Freemasonry, they themselves are only the offspring of Satan, the "king of revolutionaries", the one who, in the last instance, leads the "formidable fight » against the Catholic Church. In short, Chabauty emphasizes: "Our enemy is the Jew! » In the apocalyptic perspective of Chabauty, to whom we can attribute major responsibility in the trivialization of the thesis of a Judeo-Masonic collusion, the "triumph of the Jew" means the installation of the Antichrist on the throne of the "king of At the end of *The Jews, Our Masters !,* Chabauty, while declaring that he hopes for the conversion of the "Jewish nation", reaffirms that it, "inspired and directed by world ". Satan", has exerted a "disastrous influence" on the world Christian. Israel was therefore indeed "the

restorer of Satan's empire.

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The relationship between Jews and Freemasons as seen by their common enemies

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17 It is important to question the similarities or analogies, structural and functional, concerning ideological positions no less than the recurring arguments maintained by modern anti-Semitism and anti-Masonism. The question can be approached from various angles. First of all, Jews and Freemasons are supposed to share the same enemy: Christianity. They are both accused of hating Christianity and wanting to destroy the Church. Organized Judaism and Freemasonry are not the same, they act as accomplices, but without real reciprocity, the second putting itself at the service of the first. This is the argument developed in Germany by the conspiratorial (and Catholic) anti-mason Eduard Emil Eckert († 1866), lawyer by profession, in the 1850s and early 1860s, notably in his book published in 1852 and translated into French in [21]. Liège in 1854 in a version expanded by Abbot Gyr: *Freemasonry in its true meaning* (2 vols.). We find it in the volume of Nicolas Deschamps (1797-1873), *Secret Societies and Society, or Philosophy of Contemporary History* (1874-1876), completed and published between 1880 and 1883 by Claudio Jannet (1844-1894) , himself the author of a successful conspiracy story: *The Secret Societies* (1877). Jannet clearly states that “Judaism and Masonry are two parallel institutions”. The same pattern of accusation can function to explain the “Jewish conquest” of France through the manipulation of minds, as with Drumont, in *La France Juive* (1886): “The Jews […], linked together by Masonry, install themselves in all the committees, lead the electorate and create this artificial opinion that we take for the true opinion. » But Drumont adds to the model of the complicity of the two collective actors the idea of their interpenetration.

18 Secondly, anti-Semites and anti-Masons apply to their enemies one and the same representation of the “sect” or the “secret society”, fantasized as a powerful international organization plotting in the shadows for world domination. In volume III of the book by Deschamps (1883), Jannet affirms that “Judaism is […] by itself a Masonry both by the close solidarity which unites its members, by the cosmopolitanism which places the Jew above of all ties of homeland, finally by his hatred against Christianity. The wealth, which is common to them, is the secret of their effectiveness. In *The Jews Before the Church and History* (1897), Abbot BM Constant (1820-1898) asserts that “wealth is the phenomenon of the Jew, as the hump is the phenomenon of the camel, like reptility *[...]]* is the phenomenon of the snake. Rich, powerful and cynical, the two “sects” both use corruption, revolutionary upheavals and manipulation (particularly by the press) to achieve their ends. This is how, affirmed an editor of *La Croix du Nord* on October 4 , 1898, that the whole of France was “enjuivated” because of the Masonic ministry, “minion of the

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Jews", who directs it. In the same anti-Dreyfusard newspaper, we learned on June 13, 1898 that Catholic France was "ransomed by the Jews and the Freemasons" two allied "sects" [22] . These obey the same tactical-strategic principle: "The end justifies the means. » How they function like revolutionary organizations resorting to terrorism.

19 Thirdly, Freemasonry is often presented as a "Jewish sect", as a sect whose origins are Jewish, whose spirit is Jewish and where Jews are numerous. Gougenot, radicalizing Eckert, insists on the Judeo-occultist origin of Masonic symbolism and doctrine. In his book published in 1893, *La Franc-maçonnerie, synagogue de Satan,* Mgr Léon Meurin (1825-1895) asserts that "everything that is found in Freemasonry is fundamentally Jewish, exclusively Jewish, passionately Jewish, from the beginning until the end", specifying that "the dogmas of Freemasonry are those of Jewish Kabbalah, and in particular, of the book Zohar", and that the Jews are "the true authors of Freemasonry". However, the "active Jew" is "the missionary of evil" (Gougenot). In 1885, in *La Franc-Maçonnerie démasquée,* a review founded in 1884 by Mgr Armand-Joseph Fava (1826-1899) and Alfred Rastoul (1832-1905) and published by the Maison de la Bonne Presse (which publishes *La Croix* and *Le Pèlerin),* we learn that "it is the Jew, the leading leader of universal Masonry, who reigns in Austria, who is preparing the Revolution." This review took up the appeal launched by Leo XIII in 1884: "First of all, tear off Freemasonry the mask with which it covers itself and show it as it is. » This authorized unmasking actually opened the door to a frenzied production of new masks, leading to the reinventing of the "sect" as "Jewish" and "satanic". Drumont also asserted in 1899, at the beginning of his pamphlet *La Tyranny maçonnique,* that "Freemasonry is an institution of Jewish origin", that it "remained Jewish" and that it

20 Fourth, one of the themes shared by anti-Semites and anti-Masons is that of Jews as secret masters of Masonry. Whether it was manufactured or infiltrated by the "deicide people", Freemasonry would be in the hands of the Jews, and would work for the sole benefit of the Jews. The first theorization of the theme was found in Gougenot, in 1869. Abbé Chabauty developed at length, in 1880 *(Freemasons and Jews)* and in 1882 *(The Jews, our masters !),* the thesis of [23] . In *Jewish France,* Drumont asserts that Jews "hardly like to attack freemasonry subject to Jews openly" and that their ordinary strategy consists of using a "powerful association", which they create or corrupt when it already exists, as a "war machine": "Order of the Templars, Freemasonry, International, Nihilism , everything is good for them. » This dissimulation, which multiplies the masks through manipulations, makes anti-Semitic deciphering interminable: if "the latent work of th analyze", it is because "there is a whole underground action there which is almost

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Impossible to grab the thread. The omnipresence of the Jew is a reflection of his omnipotence: "In various forms and different disguises, the Jew is in reality everywhere. » And, for the conspiracy ideologue, everything holds together, as postulated for example by a certain J.-F. Debauge in 1890, in his libelle entitled *La Vermin. Freemasons, revolutionaries, freethinkers, Jews, politicians :* "The International is only a branch, detached or not, from Freemasonry which itself was organized by Jewry to upset Christian nations. » On July 9, 1892, we read in the *Religious Week of the diocese of Aire* that "Jewry bribes Freemasonry and uses it as an instrument of war against Catholics, the instrumentalization functions as a commonplace of anti-[24] ". The thesis of Jewish speech. In 1893, Bishop Meurin in turn described Freemasonry as a simple instrument of the Jews: "Freemasonry is only a tool in the hands of the Jews who hold the upper hand. » And to specify the major role of the "sect" in the revolutions: "History will not fail to tell one day that all the revolutions of recent centuries have their origin in the Masonic sect, under the supreme leadership of the Jews.

Those who enter the lodge participate, knowingly or unknowingly, in the war of the modern Synagogue against the thrones and altars of our homelands. » Drumont reaffirmed in 1899 the thesis of the "war machine" at the beginning of *La Tyranny maçonnique :* "To anyone who is not convinced of this idea that Freemasonry is only a war machine invented by the Jews to conquer the world and realize their old dream of universal domination, Freemasonry will remain an incomprehensible enigma. » This is the theme that we already encountered in the "letter of Simonini", in Gougenot, Abbé Chabauty or Mgr Fava *(Le Secret de la Franc-Maçonnerie,* 1883), and which we will again encounter in the Abbot Isidore Bertrand (1829-1914), author of a pamphlet published in 1905, significantly entitled *Freemasonry, Jewish sect*[25] .

Fifthly, Jews and Freemasons are accused of sharing the same dream of universal domination, as Drumont affirmed in 1899, in *La Tyranny maçonnique :* "The dream of Freemasonry is basically nothing else. that the old dream of Israel from whose flanks it emerged […]: it is still the eternal dream of the conquest of the world, of universal domination, and Masonic policy, like Jewish policy, has not no other goal than the realization of this gigantic plan. » These different polemical interpretations of the relationship between Jews and Freemasons intersect in anti-Semitic discourse at the end of the 19th century. Thus, in *La Croix du Nord,* on February 24, 1898, an article denounces the Freemasons as the "lackets of Jewry", while affirming that Freemasonry is "daughter of Israel". The dream of a global conspiracy is logically attributed to "cosmopolitan" subjects, that is to say to foreigners by nature, as Isidore Bertrand pointed out in 1905: "The Jew and the Freemason are equally cosmopolitan. » These "homeless people" are doomed to be part of the "Anti-France ", as they are naturally enemies from within in all respects.

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nation where they reside.

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Sixthly, Jews (Talmudists and Kabbalists above all) and Freemasons are denounced as children or minions of Satan. They inherit from the latter a particular vocation to lies, hatred and the joy of destroying, as evidenced by their major role in revolutionary upheavals. In 1883, Jannet, reproducing the "letter from Simonini", affirmed that it took its place "among the documents which shed light on the action of the Secret Societies in the work of the Revolution" while showing "the role of the Jews in the Universal Revolution". A certain Pierre Gandoux, in a pamphlet entitled *La République de la franc-maçonnerie, ou la franc-saloperie avant la Raie-publique [sic],* published in Bordeaux in 1885, states: "The kind of church of which Satan is the invisible leader was built on Masonic stone, by the hatred of the Jews agains 22

In anti-Judeo-Masonism, we can discern a non-Nietzschean way of diagnosing what is then called "nihilism" and identifying its causes. In an article from July 28, 1894, reprinted in *Gold, Mud, Blood. From Panama to anarchy* (1896), Drumont thus characterizes the destructive character of the "sect": "For twenty years, Jewish Freemasonry has reduced to dust everything that consoled and refreshed the souls of men... Dust, the old traditions and the ancient beliefs... Dust, the great sentiments of yesteryear: the worship of the flag, the integrity of magistrates, fidelity to convictions, respect for the name honorably carried from father to son. » By making a "clean slate" of all the noblest heritages, the "sect" opens the way to nihilism, it even imposes it as a Luciferian orthodoxy. The highest values, once reduced to "dust", necessarily become "mud".

The identification of Jews and Masons had become obvious at the time of the Dreyfus affair. The increasingly common use of the compound name "Judeo-masonry" showed that the image of association or instrumentalization had been replaced by that of fusion. In his beautiful essay published in 1902, *The Doctrines of Hate,* the historian Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, after having established that, on a historical level, the assimilation between Jews and Freemasons proved to be unfounded, concluded : "The obstinacy of anti-Semites in identifying Freemasons and Jews, in what they call Judeo-Masonry, only shows their bad faith or their ignorance. If history and facts prohibit masonry from being considered a Jewish institution, founded or directed by Jews, in a Jewish interest, anti-Semitism falls back on the kinship of the Jewish spirit and the Masonic spirit. " This shift in the question, adds Leroy-Beaulieu, does not change the chimerical nature of the accusations: "When we want to analyze what is meant, most often, by the Jewish spirit, we find that, on a number of points, the The Jewish spirit incriminated by anti-Semites is the negation of the doctrines and traditions of Judaism. » But the essential is elsewhere, as Leroy-Beaulieu notes, it is in the "spirit" which carries the "doctrines of 23

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polemicists denouncing the fictitious “Judeo-Masonry”, linked or not to an imaginary “Protestantism”, is in fact nothing other than “the spirit of intolerance, nourished by the spirit of war and hatred”.

The Church between anti-Masonic propaganda and
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24 The formation, development and uses of the myth of the “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy” cannot be studied and understood without granting the Catholic Church a major role. The latter, in fact, began in 1738, twenty-one years after the installation of the Grand Lodge of London, to construct a repulsive model of Freemasonry, which would become both a literary myth in the *Joseph Balsamo* (1849) by Alexandre Dumas and a political-religious myth whose importance continued to grow during the years 1860-1900. Anti-Masonism, as an ideological-political configuration, owes its birth and its wide diffusion in the 19th century to the Holy See and its circle of encyclical [26]. Let us recall the main papal bulls, propagandist writers and apostolic letters against Masonry, constituting so many stages in the process. of demonization which targets it: *In Eminenti* (Clement XII, 1738) – which condemns and excommunicates Freemasons –, *Providas Romanorum* (Benedict XIV, 1751), *Ecclesiam* (Pius VII, 1821), *Quo Graviora* (Leon XII, 1825) , *Traditi* (Pius VIII, 1829), *Qui pluribus* (Pius IX, 1846), *Multiplices inter* (Pius IX, 1865), *Apostolicae Sedis* (Pius IX, 1869), *Humanum Genus* (Leo XIII, 1884), *Praeclara* (Leo XIII, 1894), *Annum ingress* The Church publicly engaged in a great political and intellectual fight against Freemasonry in the 1870s and 1880s. Evidenced by the encyclical letter *Etsi multa luctuosa* (1873) from Pope Pius IX (influenced by the theses of Gougenot), which condemns "sects" or "Masonic lodges" as representing the "synagogue of Satan", and the encyclical of Leo XIII, *Humanum Genus* (1884), which denounces Freemasonry as the source of a conspiracy international against the Church [27].

25 The matter is important: “To unmask Freemasonry is to defeat it,” affirmed Leo XIII, convinced that the devil, in various guises (including the Masonic), was really besieging the Vatican. It is more deeply a question of explaining globally both "the misfortune of the times and the setbacks of the Church", by seeing in them the results of a "conspiracy hatched by a sect surrounded by darkness (or rather by a leader[28] ", as Leo XIII affirms in *Humanum Genus:* "Son invisible orchestra) action alone can explain the progress of the Revolution and contemporary events. » It is therefore not only a question of recognizing “this capital enemy of the moment”, but also of knowing him as best as possible. The figure of th built on the model of that of the devil, antagonist and rival of God: “We have

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dealing with a cunning enemy full of artifices. » This is why the formidable “sect” makes “revive among us the spirit of revolt, the incorrigible perfidy and the cunning of the devil”. To the theory of the “invisible hand” (of the conspirators) is added the thesis of the fatal chain: in the synthetic doctrine of Leo XIII, “the theory of conspiracy, in its rhetorical springs as in the theological argument deployed ”, is present entirely [29]. In 1885, an Anti-Masonic League was launched, with his blessing. She published a *Manual* at the beginning of the following year, prefaced by [30]. A few months later, an article in *La Civiltà cattolica* – the magazine of a brief from the Jesuit Pope -, drawing inspiration from *Jewish France* as well as the first “revelations” of Léo Taxil, affirmed that Freemasonry was “completely Jewish” and functions as an instrument of “Jewish power”: “We are convinced that it must be said to shake the imbeciles who bind themselves to the lodges […] and who do not realize that they are the instrument of the Jewish finance and power. »

Mgr de Ségur's pamphlet, *The Freemasons, what they are, what they do, what they want,* published in 1867, is a bestseller: it is in its 62nd edition in 1884 (Poulat and Laurant, 1994). Taking up the Barruelian distinction between the lodges (visible) and the back lodges (invisible), Louis-Gaston de Ségur (1820-1881) denounces “occult Freemasonry”, postulating that “public Masonry hides secret Masonry” . And, in “High Masonry”, he sees the hand of the devil. In the core of the “secret society”, among the most active agents of the conspiracy, he designates “a Jew who had taken the name of Little Tiger as his nom de guerre”. This “Piccolo-Tiger”, a Jewish Freemason characterized by his love of gold and his hatred of Christ, and designated as one of the members of the “Haute-Vente” – chimerical ultra-secret upper lodge supposed to have led the Charbonnerie and plotted against the Church between 1820 and 1846 – is in reality a fictional character invented by the Vatican services, who was made famous in 1859 by Jacques Cutineau-Joly (1802-1875), in his book *The Church Roman face of the Revolution,* written at the request of the Holy See on the basis [31]. The satanic project attributed to of alleged “archives” of the Charbonnerie seized by the pontifical police “Haute-Vente” is to organize the d be [32]. The denunciation of “Masonic infiltrations into the Church” will become a *topos* of Catholic conspiracy discourse. 26

Freemasonry is denounced by a veritable European army of Catholic polemicists as a “counter-Church” of a satanic nature, or as the “Synagogue of Satan”, a formula giving its title to the book by Mgr Meurin (1893), which concludes with this prediction: “Freemasonry, this new Synagogue of Satan, will be, like the ancient Synagogue, defeated by the Cross. » But, concerning the twinnings between anti-Masonism and “anti-Semitism” (the term, remember, was created in 1879 by Wilhelm Marr and began to enter the French vocabulary in the 1880s), the Church resorts to the principle of subsidiarity: it lets the polemicists who 27

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unleash against the agents of the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy", even if it means calling them to order from time to time. Anti-Jewish propaganda acts as a vector for anti-Masonic propaganda, particularly in the 1880s and 1890s, when anti-Semitism, thanks to Drumont, became an instrument of popular mobilization. From September 26 to 30, 1896, the Universal Anti-Masonic Union, created in Rome in September 1893, organized with the blessing of the Holy See the first International Anti- [33], which affirms the anti-Masonic dogma Masonic Congress, held in Trento through the following rhetorical question: "Is there an international organization of Freemasons under a supreme leader, whose power has influence over all political action on the globe? » It remains that, during the Congress of [34], without the demonstration convincing the entire audience. Trent, the mystification of Léo Taxil was highlighted. But after Taxil's confessions (April 19, 1897), a halt was given, at least provisionally (because the Dreyfus affair was going relaunch anti-Masonism), to the anti-Masonic campaign based on

In 1901, in *Un Siècle de l'Église de France 1800-1900,* Mgr Louis Baunard, rector of the Catholic Faculties of Lille (from 1888 to 1908), admirer of Drumont's ***Jewish France ,* expressed the common opinion of Catholic clerics in affirming that "anticlericalism has three well-known heads, which are Masonism, Protestantism and Judaism", and that "it is from these that it receives its impulse and its direction". Judaism, the eminent prelate does not hesitate to write, has "become a sort of state religion for the government, which has handed over everything to it". As for Freemasonry, this "dark evildoer", it has "only worked to demolish the splendid edifice of Christian France", and poses a mortal danger to "the Christian and French soul". Other polemicists add socialism, free thought or anarchism to the disastrous "triple alliance". When the "Jewish captain" was condemned (January 5, 1895), Canon Henri Delassus (1836-1921), director of the *Cambrai Religious Week,* wrote: "Anti-Semitism must be one and the same thing with Catholicism, in this sense that we must fight the Jews, like the Freemasons, like the socialists, like the anarchists, for the defense of civil society, of the homeland, of the cross of Jesus Christ" again, it is democracy as a regime and as a political culture which is part of the conspiracy, as affirmed by Abbot Emmanuel Barbier (1851-1925), in 1910, in his pamphlet denouncing *Masonic Infiltrations in the Church :* "Democratic ideas and Masonic ideas are two equivalent terms", because "the first of these formulas contains, often develops [35]. Wider without the knowledge of those who use it, the whole spirit of the other, which consists, in a word, in the emancipation of the supernatural, in absolute naturalism." Under the conspiratorial gaze, in fact, everything is linked, everything is connected, everything is linked.**

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29 In that it engages the anti-modern doctrine of the Church established by Leo XIII, according to which the “evil errors” of the Moderns inevitably lead to an “upheaval universal” and the “ruin of all institutions”, anti-Masonism is not a simple matter of propaganda. As Father Varangot reminded the National Anti-Masonic Congress in Paris (November 30-December 5, 1897), “Freemasonry is the great modern heresy.” The “philosophical and moral relativism” of Freemasonry, condemned by *Humanum Genus,* is the great temptation of the modern world, and its satanic inspiration. To unmask Freemasonry is to reveal its true “secret”: Satan is the fundamentally illegitimate authority which governs it, and “Jewry” is “its mistress”. This is why it is both anti-Catholic and anti-patriotic or anti-national anti-Masonic forms […] a historiosophy, an “explanation” of current history [36]. As Marc Angenot noted, “the ideology which responds point by point to progressive and socialist historiosophies. The Masons are the descendants of this group of criminals who prepared and perpetrated the French Revolution and who, since 1789, have stubbornly continued their task of perdition Catholic conspiracy, through its demonological rhetoric, aims to be an explanatory theory [37] ». The of modern subversion, or rather modernity as subversion.

Far-right circles and “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy”

30 At the end of the 19th century, in France, the Dreyfus affair had the effect of establishing the denunciation of the “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy” on the far right, even before the expression became commonplace. What is commonly called "the extreme right" then covers the Catholic traditionalists heirs of counter-revolutionary thought (including the "legitimists") and the new anti-Semitic and anti-Republican nationalists who will soon recognize each other, for the most part. of them, in the royalism of Action Française. In the far-right press, we denounce the “Jewish Republic”, the “major Jewish-financial scams”, “Judeo-Masonic morals”, etc. On the left, the polemical amalgams vary on the theme of capitalism as "immediate product of Semitism" (Albert Regnard, 1887), target the "youtre" as "the exploiter par excellence", or recycle the Jesuitophobia of atheists, free thinkers and anticlerical: we denounce “the Jesuitico-Judaic alliance” or “Jesuit Jewry”.

The Rothschild myth, with xenophobic overtones, remains at the center of anti-Jewish discourse, as evidenced by the article by Jules Guesde entitled “Lèse-Rothschild”, published on June 17, 1886 in *Le Cri du Peuple:* the emblematic rich Jew is denounced , in accordance with the socialist Judeophobic tradition founded by Fourier and Toussenel *(The Jews, Kings of the Era,* 1845), as “a standing king”, “a living god”: “The house on rue Laffitte is the true, the only House of France. » The famous Jewish banker is stigmatized by Guesde

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like the "bad Jew of Frankfurt installed for almost a century, like a gigantic octopus, in the heart of France, from which he sucks the blood with all his suckers". The coupling between the "Jewish peril" and the "Masonic peril" is becoming a commonplace. In 1895, Georges Romain (aka Georges Kestler) published *The Freemason Peril and the Jewish Peril,* where he asserted that the war against these two complicit satanic figures was "an economic and patriotic war against invaders who claim to dominate over us, and monopolize the functions, places and gold of France.

The Catholic polemicists of the newspaper *La Croix,* very active in anti-Dreyfusism, virulently denounce what they call the "Trio of Hate": Jews, Freemasons, [38] Protestants everywhere, the initiators or propagators of socialism. , as assured by *Le Réveil du Nord* dated July 17, 1898. **. Added to this are the socialists, since "the Israelites were almost** **Furthermore, for those who, like Drumont in *La France Juive,* see in the Reformation the work of the Jews and in Protestantism a "bridge" by which the latter were able to "enter […] into humanity", it goes without saying that "every Protestant […] is half-Jewish". On January 30, 1898, in *La Croix du Nord,* a journalist denounced the action of the "Judeo-Protestant-Masonic union". The Dreyfus affair is reduced to a conspiracy organized by the said "union". *The Northern Cross* suggests that "the Jew Dreyfus" belongs to Freemasonry, which explains with maximum clarity why "the Judeo-radio-Masonic band" is Dreyfusard. A general conviction: all the "lackets of Jewry" are paid by "Jewish gold" to ruin the anti-Semitic "eldest daughter of the Church" *The Judeo-Masonic Peril. The evil – The remedy,* which sets out "the question" as follows: "The preponderant influence that the Judeo-Masonic sect exercises on the movement of the financial, political and moral economy of Europe, and mainly of France, has has developed in recent times so considerable, I would even say so alarming, that it today constitutes a national danger of exceptional gravity. »**

[39] **. In 1897, Father Anselme Tilloy published at the "Librairie**

Two years later, André de Boisandré, Drumont's comrade in struggle, published his *Little Anti-Jewish Catechism at the "Anti-Semitic Bookstore",* followed, in 1903, by a pamphlet entitled *Socialists and Jews. The new International,* where he affirms that Judeo-Masonry controls the "two Internationals", that of the rich, of the "cosmopolitan stockbrokers" or of the "Jewish High Bank", and that of the poor or of the socialist revolution, "incarnated in a world union of workers from all countries": "Basically, the two *Internationals,* most of the time, are confused, they obey the same occult leaders, they carry out the same mysterious instructions. » In *La Gangrène maçonnique* (1899), the specialist in "secret societies" that is Louis Dasté begins by denouncing "the plots of Freemasonry and the dangers it poses to the Country", before specifying that he will show the Freemasons "guilty of the greatest crime of all, the crime of Lèse-Patrie, in this ignoble Dreyfus Affair, where they were the fiercely dedicated agents of the syndicate pack of spies and swindlers

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foreigners, recruited and nourished by the Synagogues. In 1900, Dasté launched, with Paul Copin-Albancelli (1851-1939), the anti-Masonic newspaper *Down with the Tyrants!* (renamed *La Bastille,* 1902-1915), which, in addition to the "Masonic tyrants", denounced in particular the "Masonic crimes", equivalent to the "ritual murders" of which the Jews we falsely accused since the middle of the 12th century [40]. In 1906, Dasté (under his (real surname, André Baron) broadens his remarks, while favoring the criminal dimension that he attributes to "secret societies", in a large book entitled *Secret Societies. Their crimes from the Isis Initiates to the modern Freemasons,* where he claims to have established that "present-day Freemasonry is an extremely complex mixture of Eastern paganism and Jewish Kabbalah", and "proved that, too often, Freemasonry has obeyed real assassinations.” Four years later, Dasté published, in a collection entitled “Library of Studies of Secret Societies”, a long pamphlet dedicated to the memory of Clement XII and the “fathers of Antimasonism”: *Marie-Antoinette and the Masonic plot* (1910), of which Céline, in a note in *The School of Corpses* (1938), shows herself to be an unconditional admirer: “I cannot recommend enough the reading of Dasté's admirable book: *Marie-Antoinette and the Masonic Plot.* » In this book, Dasté states for example: “In the Dreyfus Affair, we saw international Freemasonry everywhere combining its efforts with those of universal Jewry. » In 1912, Dasté published a new libelle on the same theme, *Secret Societies and the Jews,* which was translated into German in 1919.

From *Jewish France* (1886), Drumont widely used the rhetoric of warning in the form of a threat, mixing the prophetic style with the promise of a final vengeance, which would be accomplished by “the people” or “the peoples”. . The avenger would be a vigilante, who would administer to the Jews the punishment they deserve. The conclusion of *Jewish France* is unequivocal: “All of France will follow the leader who will be a vigilante, and who, instead of striking at the unfortunate French workers, like the men of 1871, will strike at the Jews sewn in gold. » Drumont then only supposes an association between the Jews and the Masons. The thesis of Judeo-Masonic fusion became commonplace during the 1890s. On July 2, 1892, in the *Religious Week of the Diocese of Cambrai* (bulletin edited by Henri Delassus), we read this extract from an article from *L'Osservatore Romano :* “We do not know if Masonic Judaism – or Judaic Freemasonry – has arrived at this solemn and fatal hour when terrible public punishments will make it atone for its old misdeeds, thus delivering humanity from already ancient evils. Let them be careful of what they do, the insatiable and proud leaders of Judaic and Masonic tyranny in our time: the patience of the people can be exhausted. » The chiasm formed by “Masonic Judaism” and “Judaic Freemasonry” testifies to the transition from alliance or manipulation to fusion between Jews and Masons. The threatening promise of “punishment” was reiterated by Drumont on January 18, 1893 in *La Libre Parole,* where addresses the “brave little children”: “I feel that it is you who will avenge us 33

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when you grow up, and something tells me that the punishment will be terrible. » In *La Tyranny maçonnique,* in 1899, Drumont stuck to the thesis of a quasi-fusion between Jews and Masons, reaffirming the model of manipulation, that of the Jews becoming "the sovereign masters in the Lodges". If tyranny appears to be both Judaic and Masonic, it is ultimately Judaic.

34 **In his theory of the "Four Confederate States" (1904-1906), constituting what he calls "anti-France", Charles Maurras will further broaden the scope of the conspiracy: to Jews, Freemasons and Protestants. , he will add the "metics" of "integral [41] . Theorist nationalism", Maurras however favors what Maurice Barrès had called, in his program article published on February 22, 1890 in *Le Figaro,* "the anti-Jewish formula": "Everything seems impossible, or horribly difficult, without this providence of anti-Semitism. Through it everything is arranged, smoothed out and simplified" *(L'Action française,* March 28, 1911). This was to recognize the instrumental nature of anti-Semitism in the perspective of the development of a substantial French identity, freed from its internal enemies (Jews, Freemasons, Protestants and "metics").** In 1900, a pamphlet signed Vanki (alias Trioullaire), ***The Antichrist or Origins of Freemasonry and its Purpose explained by its symbols,* appeared in the "Anti-Semitic Bookstore" , where we learn that "Freemasonry is a institution of Jewish origin" and that "the Jew is the soul of Freemasonry", because "no human being has ever equaled the Jew in obscene and sacrilegious parody". In his letter-preface, Drumont marvels at having discovered the common thread allowing him to understand the obscure course of events: "Things which, at first glance, seem improbable or monstrous, appear, in fact, almost all simple and all natural, as soon as we reflect that the Jew is the soul of masonry. » The underground action of "Judeo-Masonry" thus becomes the key to history in the making, even the great instrument for deciphering modern history.**

35 **The former mason Paul Copin-Albancelli entered the controversy by first publishing *Le Pouvoir occulte contre la France* (1907; 29 ed., 1910), a long denunciation of Freemasonry and exposition of the "anti-Masonic science" of which the Founding fathers are Barruel, Eckert, Deschamps and Janet. There we find an unprecedented conspiratorial explanation of the "Russian revolution" of 1905 based on the thesis of a possible instrumentalization of the Jews by the Freemasons (banned in Russia) or by an international Judeo-Masonic organization: "It is the Jews who were the visible organizers of the unrest in Russia. And these Russian Jews who marched at the head of the strikers, who therefore made them march themselves? – Certain Jewish committees which were not Russian, but international, as the Jewish race itself is. » Comparison with the French Revolution shows that another strategy was followed: "Jewish acting openly and violently as it recently did in Russia. […] If then**

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the Jews do not act openly during our Revolution, they have friends who act for them, and these friends are the Freemasons. » But the “single enemy rule” of [42], systematically applied by conspiracy ideologues, allows reducing Jews and Masons to the same occult power: “In France, Masonry and Revolution are one and the same. In Russia, Judaism and Revolution are one and the same. Two quantities equal to a third being equal to each other, it follows that Masonry and Judaism are also one. " But Copin-Albancelli supports the thesis of the ultra-secret Jewish direction of Masonry, a schema to which he suggests resorting to explain the French Revolution, formulating the hypothesis "that Judaism moves Masonry, that it is the occult Power by which it was created, and to whose suggestions it obeys! ". Copin-Albancelli then published *The Jewish Conjuration against the Christian World* (1909), which did little more than develop certain analyzes of his previous pamphlet, or clarify its central thesis, namely that “the Jew” is “the true occult Power”. The said “Jewish conspiracy” is, however, “Judeo-Masonic” in nature, since “the Jewish origin of Freemasonry” is in his eyes established, and there exists a “Jewish plan” for world domination necessarily involving the Masonic action. This “plan” is that of the “government of the race of Judas”, a secret government or “Jewish occult power” which “aspires to

In 1910, Mgr Henri Delassus published his main work, *La Conjuration antichrétienne. The Masonic temple wanting to rise on the ruins of the Church,* where it postulates that, “for two thousand years, the Jews have aspired to conquer the entire world”. The perverse strategy followed by the Jewish conquerors is thus described by the apostolic protonotary: “To dominate the nations, it is necessary to destroy the institutions which constitute the social order, particularly the Christian social order. Hence the principles of 89, hence Human Rights, hence Liberalism, the virus of which Freemasonry insinuates into all societies. With these poisons, we disintegrate all institutions, we kill them: Religion, Family, Homeland, Property, Army, nothing resists them. » The result of all this destruction will be, he prophesies, “the institution of state collectivism”, in the hands of the Jews, the only real bene 36

The B'nai B'rith and especially the Universal Israelite Alliance (created in 1860 and chaired from 1863 to 1880 by Adolphe Crémieux, Freemason lawyer and therefore a privileged target) are tirelessly denounced as Judeo-Masonic organizations or as the instruments of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy. One of the first to question the Universal Israelite Alliance, Gougenot des Mousseaux, in 1869, affirmed that the secret management of the back lodges (themselves secret!) was Jewish, and put forward a comparison as “proof » : “Do we not see these doctrines as clearly formulated by the official organs of the Universal Israelite Alliance as by the organs of Freemasonry? […] This then is the anti-Chr eighteenth century, the *universal* Israelite alliance and the *universal* society of masonry 37

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living with one and the same life, animated by one and the same soul! And the masonry of the *high* adepts, that *of the serious initiates,* finally allows us to see through the meaning of its manifestos that it is ultimately only the *latent* organization of militant Judaism, just like the universal Jewish alliance. is just one of its patent organizations. »

The Universal Israelite Alliance is denounced as a formidable occult power by Jacob Brafman, a Russian Jew converted to the Orthodox religion then recruited as an informer and propagandist by the Tsarist police, as a global instrument of corruption disguised as a philanthropic association *(The Book du Kahal,* Vilna, 1869; translated into French in Odessa in 1873) world Judaism by the adventurer signing "Osman Bey" (pseudonym[43] . It is designated as the center of direction of the of Frederick Millingen), in his pamphlet *The Conquest of the World by the Jews* (1873) that the "Society universal Israelite" *(sic),* to which would be "affiliated the Jewish [44] , where he claims luminaries of all countries", would have "at its disposal a considerable staff, composed of journalists, secret agents, snitches, couriers, etc., all men of 'high capacity'. He concluded that "no government could be better informed and more faithfully served than this Universal Society" located in Paris. As Krouchevan had already suggested, Paris thus became the capital of the global "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy" Hippolyte Lutostansky in his book *The Talmud and the Jews* (1879-1880, 3 vols.), then by a number of publishers or commentators from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (first published in [45] . This conspiracy thesis will be taken up in Russia by late summer 1903). Canon August Rohling, in his anti-Talmudic pamphlet published in 1871, *Der Talmujude* ("The Jew of the Talmud"), denounces the "agreement between the Lodge and Judah", of which Crémieux, a Jew and Freemason, would be the incarnation , the proof and the symbol. He reaffirms the main accusation: "The lodges only work to push people to revolution in the interest of the Jews!" ". During the Dreyfus affair, the Catholic press virulently denounced the imaginary couple formed by the Universal Israelite Alliance and the Kahal. The polemical amalgam functions as a commonplace: in 1898 and 1899, *La Croix du Nord* assured that the head of the "vast anti-Catholic alliance in the world" was none other than the Universal Israelite Alliance, whose ramifications led to the Kahal , "supreme directorate" whose headquarters are at "44, rue de la Victoire", that is to say at the "Central Jewish Consistory of Paris", which has a "blindly devoted police force" and a "huge budget"

[46] . In 1905, in *La Franc-Masonry, Jewish sect,* Abbot Isidore Bertrand, inspired by Gougenot, reiterates the operation of reduction to the single enemy: " The *Universal Israelite Alliance* and the *no less universal Society of Masonry* form only one and even society. [...]. Kabbalah is at the bottom of all Masonic rites, a modern form of occultism of which the Jew is the grand master. *The Universal Israelite Alliance* is the work par excellence of Judaism and Masonry. It is by grouping under its banner all the followers of free thought, whatever their religion of origin, that Israel will see its most cherished

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38 In 1872, a chapter from the novel by Hermann Goedsche (under the pseudonym Sir John Retcliffe), *Biarritz* (Berlin, 1868), was translated into Russian and published in Saint Petersburg in the form of a revealing document, chapter entitled: “In the Jewish [47]. Published separately as if it were the narration of a meeting held cemetery of Prague” indeed, this text, “The Jewish cemetery of Prague and the assembly of the twelve tribes of Israel”, describes a nocturnal assembly very resembling an occult ceremony, during which the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel exposes the various aspects of a plan to conquer the world, as confirmed by the Chief Rabbi. In many ways, this scene is inspired by the Masonic meeting imagined by Alexandre Dumas in his novel *Joseph Balsamo* (1849), where the meeting, on May 6, 1770, between Cagliostro, leader of the “Unknown Superiors”, and other Illuminated Ones. The plot of the Illuminated aims to place the France of Enlightenment and the future Revolution at the head of humanity, thanks to the combined efforts of three hundred brothers each representing ten thousand associates, or three million affiliates having sworn "obedience and service ". Through a series of transformations, the conspiracy of Cagliostro and the Illuminati will become the world Jewish conspiracy. We find in the extract from Goedsche's novel most of the themes of

> 39 Our fathers bequeathed to the elect of Israel the duty of gathering, at least once every century, around the tomb of the great master Caleb, holy rabbi Simeon-ben-Ihuda, whose science delivers, to the elect of each generation, power over all the earth and *authority* over all *the* descendants of Israel. For eighteen centuries now, the war of the people of Israel has lasted with this power which had been promised to Abraham, but which had been taken from him by the Cross. Trampled under foot, humiliated by its enemies, constantly under the threat of death, persecution, kidnapping and rape of all kinds, the people of Israel nevertheless did not succumb; and if he is scattered over the entire surface of the earth, it is because *the whole earth must belong to him.* […] Therefore, when we have made ourselves *the sole possessors of all the gold on earth,* the true power will pass into our hands, and then the promises which were made to Abraham will be fulfilled. […] If Gold is the first power in this world, the second is undoubtedly the Press. […] We must, as much as possible, maintain the proletariat, submit it to those who handle money. By this means, we will raise the masses, whenever we want; we will push them to upheavals, to revolutions, and each of these catastrophes advances our intimate interests a big step and brings us quickly closer to our only goal: that of *reigning*

40 The extract from Goedsche's *Biarritz* was subsequently published in Moscow, Odessa and Prague, to become the famous "Rabbi's Speech" (sometimes called "Reichhorn", or "Eichborn") as reported by a British author, Sir John Readcliff (or Readclif, Retcliffe, etc.). In *Jewish Russia,* anti-Semitic compilation signed Kalixt by

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Wolski and published in 1887 in the “Anti-Semitic Library” of Savine Editions (close to Drumont), the “Rabbi’s Speech” is reproduced in full from the first chapter, with this brief introductory statement: “First, to have an idea of the goal that the Jews pursue and their most intimate aspirations, we begin with the speech of a great rabbi, delivered at a secret meeting. This speech, taken from an English work published by Sir John Readclif *[sic],* under the title of *Account of the Political-Historical Events Occurring in the Last Ten Years,* reveals the persistence with which the Jewish people continue, from time immemorial and by all possible means, the idea of “reigning the earth”. »

41 The “Rabbi's Speech” had previously been published by Kalixt de Wolski (probable pseudonym of Pierre I. Ratchkovski, head of the foreign section of the Okhrana, or one of his agents) in *Le Contemporain,* in July 1881. But by also reproducing in *Jewish Russia* the essence of Jacob Brafman's *Book of Kahal ,* the Russian propagandist provided his French counterparts with something to fuel their conspiratorial imagination. The mysterious “Kahal”, an alleged secret Jewish government, has thus been added to the list of secret Jewish organizations. The rumor "authorized" by the "witness" Brafman, giving the mysterious "Kahal" for the directing and organizing center of the very paradoxical Jewish nation, an international nation of which all the members are supposed to be united, is then integrated into the myth of the conspiracy Jewish world as it was outlined in the “Rabbi’s Speech”, this forgery rightly considered as one of the main precursors of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* both formal model and textual material used by the editors of the famous “document » pseudo-Jew

[48] .

42 The main ideologues of the “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy” are anti-modern and counter-revolutionary authors, for whom the only worthwhile fight is that involved in the defense of the Christian order. In accordance with one of the rules of polemical discourse, they practice the reduction of all designated enemies to the single enemy, namely “the Jew”. In 1882, in *The Jews, Our Masters !,* Chabauty stated: “In the two hemispheres, Republic, Freemasonry, Jewry, are one and the same thing. The *Republic* is *usually* the flag, the label, the watch; Masonry *is* everywhere the instrument, the soldier, the army ; Jewry *is* always the soul, the direction, the command . Our enemy is the Jew! »

43 In a libel prefaced by Drumont, *La Juiverie* (1888), Abbot Georges de Pascal, identifying the terms "Revolution", "Freemasonry" and "Jewry" thus the situation of France: "Since 1870 particularly,[49] , characterizes it has been , politically and financially, in the hands of *Jewry;* Jews like Raynal, like Lockroy, sat around the table of the council of ministers; this had already been seen. What is characteristic, what is the striking sign of the conquest of our country by *Jewry* is the dictatorship of Léon Gambetta, the grandson of a Württemberg Jew, Léon

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gimberlé [50] ; it is the occult reign, more active, more effective perhaps, of the Jew Crémieux, by *the Universal Israelite Alliance. »* Thirty years later, in an extremely extreme article confusion published in *La Vieille France* [51] , Jean Drault, former close collaborator of Drumont, suggests that "Gamberlé", "the rebellious Jew", would have been eliminated by the Universal Israelite Alliance: "The real struggle was between the Universal Israelite Alliance, master creator of the Jewish Empire occult, and his delegate Gamberlé, occult Jewish Emperor who had ended up sinning against the discipline of the Consistory. Yes ! Gamberlé tended towards personal dictatorship. » The circularity of the accusations and the evidence is blatant: Jewish, Gambetta is naturally a Freemason; Gambetta being a Freemason (in fact, very little active), he is therefore very Jewish.

In 1890, Abbot Henri Desportes, author of an anti-Jewish pamphlet on ritual murders prefaced by Drumont: *The Mystery of Blood Among the Jews of All Times* (1889), published *Le Juif franc-maçon. Contemporary novel,* novel with a thesis in which he strives to show that the Jews, driven by a frenzied desire for domination, use the Masonic lever to become the masters of French society. The theme is developed in the book of an antimason attracted by esotericism, Abel Clarin de La Rive (1855-1914), *Le Jew dans la Franc-Maçonnerie,* published in 1895 in the "Librairie antimaçonnique". In 1896, when the first International Anti-Masonic Congress was being organized in Trento, the Catholic priest and Austrian anti-Semitic agitator Joseph Deckert (1843-1901), known as a denouncer of ritual murders among Masonic Jews entitled *Der neugeplante jüdisch-freimaurerische Weltbund,* whose the thesis is that "anti-Semitism is the best anti-bug powder against Freemasonry" present in a series of five brochures published in 1907 by the obscure anti-Mason polemicist Paul Hertl under the same generic title: *Der jüdisch-freimaurerische* [54] 44

[52], published in Vienna an anti-Judeo pamphlet

[53]. The vision of an international Judeo-Masonic organization is

***Weltbund* . We must also take into account fantasies about the dark Jewish-Masonic-occultist alliance, denounced by Jules Doinel (under the pseudonym Jean Kotska) in *Lucifer unmasked* (1895): the founder, in 1890, of the Universal Gnostic Church was convinced that masonry had links with Satanism If Gougenot des Mousseaux had, on [55] . this front of the anti-Jewish controversy, opened the way, it was Ernest Jouin (1844-1932), parish priest of Saint-Augustin (1899), founder of the Franc-Catholic League in 1913, who developed , until his death in 1932, the theme of the triple threat embodied by Jews, Freemasons and occultists.**

In January 1912, Mgr Ernest Jouin launched the *International Review of Secret Societies,* the main object of which was to combat "Judeo-Masonry", without forgetting the other front, that [56] of the fight against "occultism". 45

. Its project is to federate associations. In French anti-Masonic societies [57] the first issue of his review, Mgr Jouin states the guiding principle of its worldview: "Nowadays, the secret society is the mistress of the world. […] It is the same today as at the time of Illuminism and

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of the Haute-Vente, and Freemasonry is all the more indissolubly the concentration of secret societies; also, taken in this way in a broader sense, we can call her the mistress of the world. » But Freemasonry is “itself subordinate to superior groups”, immediately specifies Mgr Jouin, who is quick to designate them: “Nowadays, the history of secret societies is the masterful page of history Jewish. […] Where does this alliance come from? If Freemasonry is global, it is naturally in contact with the Jewish race, a cosmopolitan race by temperament and by atonement. » However, the Jews are characterized by a “triple aspiration”: “Universal domination, social revolution and the ruin of Catholicism. » Mgr Jouin is only repeating Gougenot des Mousseaux. In a conference delivered on February 25, 1913, Father Paul Boulin (1875-1933), who signed under the pseudonym “Roger Duguet” – editor-in-chief of *La Vigie,* “Integral Roman Catholic Organ” – approved the idea of an internationalization of the fight against Freemasonry: “The enemy is also international […]. He smuggles subversive ideas across borders. And the Revolution, that is to say the ancient synagogue swelled with Protestant sects and which became Freemasonry, swore to finally reconquer the world on behalf of Satan, its master, on Jesus Christ. The spectacle of this supreme assault, we have before our eyes today as editor of the *International Review of Secret Societies,* where he most often signs “Pierre [59]

[58] ". From 1922 to 1929, Father Boulin became the principal

Colmet » . In 1932, he launched the *Anti-Judeo-Masonic Notebooks,* which were interrupted after his death the following year, on July 4,[60] 1933.

“Wise Men of Zion” and Freemasons: the lesson of the *Protocols*

But it was with the publication, from 1920 to 1924, in most European languages, of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* that anti-Judeo-Masonic propaganda intensified and took on an unprecedented scale in [61]. It broadens to include the fight against Judeo-Bolshevism, to which was added the fight against Judeo-capitalism, as in Hitler's first speeches (1920-1923) or in Urbain Gohier's magazine, *La Vieille France* (which disappeared in 1924). In the famous anti-Jewish forgery, where the “Sages of Zion” constitute an “invisible force”, we find an echo of the thesis of Jewish manipulation of “visible” masonry: “ External *Freemasonry* only serves to cover our designs; the plan of action of this force, the very location of its stay will always remain unknown to the people. » Between the “Sages of Zion” (the secret leaders of the Jewish people) and the senior leaders of Freemasonry, the first Russian disseminators of the forgery assumed the existence of an alliance or complicity. The *Protocols* certainly convey the typically conspiratorial theme of the “Program for the conquest of the world by the Jews”, to use the title of the first publication in Russia in the far-right newspaper ***Znamia* (“The Flag”), at the end of August-beginning September 1903, from**

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fake, by the pogromist Pavolachi A. Krouchevan (1860-1909). But we must not neglect the fact that the "document" was presented by its "translator" as the "Protocols of the sessions of the world union of Freemasons and the Elders of Zion". This attribution of the *Protocols* to "Judeo-Masons" was immediately rivaled by the attribution of the supposedly "revealing" "document" to "Zionists" – which raises problems of interpretation. [62]

This oscillation was confirmed in 1905-1906. In December 1905, the *Protocols* were the subject of two separate publications. The first is an anonymous libel which appeared in Saint Petersburg on December 13, 1905, *The Source of Our Evils,* under the title "Excerpts from the Ancient and Modern Protocols of the Elders of Zion of the World Society of Freemasons" (27 sessions) . They were then, a few days later, published in Tsarskoye Selo as an appendix to the 2 edition of the book by the mystical writer Serge A. Nilus (1862-1929), *The Great in the Small, and the Antichrist as a Possibility imminent policy,* wh presented, in an apocalyptic style secrets[63] **like a document stolen from the "archives of the secret Chancellery of Sion which is now on French territory" (24 sessions) edition of the *Protocols*** [64] **. In January 1906, in St. Petersburg, a short story appeared (comprising 27 sessions), included in the 3 edition of the pamphlet by Georges V. Boutmi (1856- 1927?), *damning speeches. The Enemies of the Human Race,* where the document is titled "Protocols extracted from the secret archives of the Main Chancellery of Sion", then "Fragments of the Ancient and Modern Protocols of the World Union of Freemasons". The first publishers of the forgery, with the exception of Nilus, thus explicitly included it in the category of alleged proofs of the "Judeo-Masonic plot" – which already took the form of a "Zionist-Masonic plot", an original representation and probably originating from that of the "megaplot" which became commonplace at the end of the 20th century. The first uses of the *Protocols* were thus oriented by anti-Masonism and "anti-Zionism". From the first publications of the forgery in Russia, between 1903 and 1906, "Zionism" was fictionalized as a secret project of world domination, revealed in particular by the *Protocols,* presented as the minutes of sessions held secretly during the first Zionist Congress (Basel, August 29-31, 1897). Anti-Semitic commentators on the *Protocols* subsequently oscillated between the two main chimerical attributions: to a Judeo-Masonic union often embodied by the Universal Israelite Alliance, or to "world Zionism", whose visible organ would be the Zionist Organization (founded at the Basel Congress).** 47

But the mysterious Kahal is not forgotten. In the years before World War I, lawyer and Duma deputy Aleksei S. Shmakov had a reputation as one of the most virulent Russian anti-Semitic publicists. This leader of the Union of the Russian People and the Black Centuries is the author of several anti-Jewish texts, such as *Liberty and the Jews* (1906) or *The Jews in History* (1907), and of an anti-Judeo pamphlet Masonic entitled *The International Secret Government* (1912) [65] **. Shmakov owed his** 48

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relative fame due to the fact that in 1906 he had published a false anti-Jewish document, presented as a document written by Adolphe Crémieux in 1860, at the time of the founding of the Universal Israelite Alliance: a supposed manifesto calling on all Jews to cooperate in the establishment of world Jewish domination at the forefront as prosecution lawyer in the Beiliss trial, Shmakov [66]. At the beginning of 1911, before returning intervenes at the Congress of the Nobility, in Moscow, to denounce the criminal activities of the Kahal, which he presents it as "a secret Jewish organization", before declaring: "The Jews continue their revolutionary work in the country […]. They took over all the press. The Rothschilds rule the world. […] We must therefore use all means to prevent Jews and Freemasons from putting the

[67] hand on Russia » The legend of the Kahal will be resurrected after the First World War when Henry Ford's weekly, *The Dearborn Independent,* launched on May 22, 1920, will specialize in denouncing the plots fomented by "the international Jew" and his occult "world government" , called "Pan-Jewish State" [68].

Ford's editorial team posits that "the pan-Jewish state is the only state exercising world government" and that the means of its power are "capital and journalism, or money and propaganda." In the collection of editorials of the weekly, published under the title *The International Jew* (1920-1922, 4 vols.), [69]

« Kehillah » (or "Kahal", in Yiddish) of New York is presented as the center of "occult government" exercised by Jews in the United States. It is "the center of the Jewish world […] transferred to this city": "New York is for Jews what Rome is for Catholics and Mecca for Muslims. » Now the seat of government of the "Pan-Jewish State", New York succeeded London, which itself had succeeded Paris.

This is a good example of the creation of a chimera: the "Kehillah", established as a secret Jewish government, was nothing other than the self-designation of a small community of strictly observant Jews who had broken with the great synagogue "Temple Emmanuel" [70].

In March 1919, Friedrich Wichtl (1872-1922), Austrian theorist of the worldwide Masonic conspiracy, published in Munich, with the " völkisch" **publisher J.-F. Lehmann, an anti-Judeo-Mason and anti-Bolshevik pamphlet which was widely read in nationalist circles in Germany: *Weltfreimaurerei, Weltrevolution, Weltrepublik* ("World Freemasonry, World Revolution, World Republic"), the subtitle of which is explicit: "Investigation into the origin and final aims of the world war". His main target is international Judeo-Masonism, whose secret and malignant activities he believes are sufficient to explain both the defeat of Germany and the Bolshevik revolution. To the reason of the "betrayal of the Jews" during the World War is therefore added that of the decisive role of the Jews in the Bolshevik revolution. In his analysis of the *Protocols* in the 7th edition (summer 1920) of his pamphlet, Wichtl bases his accusations on a legend that he himself seems to have fabricated, according to which**

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the Order of the Illuminated, banned in Bavaria in 1785, was reconstituted in the 19th century, and It is

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had its center in Dresden: "To the new Order of the Illuminated belonged […] the Jew Axelrod, Doctor Karl Liebknecht, the famous Rosa Luxembourg frequented the circles of the Illuminated. » In an even more delirious manner, accumulating lies and rumors, Wichtl accuses the Bolshevik leaders of being Judeo-Masonic conspirators: "Brother Lenin (Ulianow Zedernbaum) belonged, even before the war, to a secret Lodge in Switzerland, which worked to the World Revolution. Brother Trotsky (Braunstein) and Brother Radek (Sobelsohn) belonged to the same club of conspirators, as did, undoubtedly, Brother Fritz Adler. Lenin is Jewish, despite all denials. » In his diary, the young Heinrich Himmler, aged nineteen, noted in mid-1919, admiringly: "A book that explains everything and tells us against whom [71] we must fight

". The pamphlet, which was the subject of several reprints the same year of its publication[72], circulates in Pan-Germanist circles, and will be used in France by Mgr Jouin in the first volume (1920) of his *Judeo-Masonic Peril,* including an annotated and commented translation of the *Protocols.* The introduction to the volume, signed by Jouin and dated August 15, 1920, begins as follows: "For any informed researcher, the Masonic question is complicated by the Jewish question. Judeo-Masonry is master of the world, but on condition of remaining a secret society. […] When Doctor Wichtl published his book […], he only aroused the anger of all the Lodges in Germany because he exposed the direction and actions of the Jews under the cover of the Masonic workshops and that he brought supporting lists of names. The same emotion invades the ghettos and the Great East, following the publication of *Secrets of the Elders of* [73], which were presented in London under this suggestive title: *The Zion Jewish Peril.* It is with these "reports" that we will begin our study of Judeo-Masonry. » In 1920 a short pamphlet by Wichtl with an eloquent title appeared in Hamburg, integrating "Zionism" into the picture of mega-conspirators: *Freimaurerei – Zionismus – Kommunismus – Spartakismus – Bolschewismus.*

It was also in 1919 that Anton Drexler (1884-1942), co-founder of the German Workers' Party (DAP) from which the NSDAP would emerge, published a pamphleteering brochure, *My Political Awakening,* where he affirmed that the "mission" that his mission is to "liberate creative humanity" from the influence of Jews and Freemasons. In *Mein Kampf,* Hitler specifies that he decided to join the DAP after having read "with interest" the pamphlet by Drexler, who presented himself as a "socialist German worker". Under the pseudonym Gottfried zur Beek, Ludwig Müller (1851-1926), known as Müller von Hausen – a disciple of Theodor Fritsch –, published in January 1920 his German translation of the *Protocols, Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion* ("The Secrets of the Elders of Zion"), which was subsequently taken up by the NSDAP publishing house. It is this translation which will be read by Hitler in 1920. In *Mein Kampf,* Hitler takes up the thesis of the Jewish manipulation of Freemasonry: "To strengthen his position in the State, he [the Jew] seeks to break down all the barriers by which race and civil status had initially hindered its walk. For this he fights with all the tenacity that is his own in favor of

religious tolerance and he has in Freemasonry, which has completely fallen into his hands, an excellent instrument with which to lead a struggle which allows him to artfully achieve his ends. The ruling classes and the upper political and economic spheres of the bourgeoisie, caught in the Masonic network, become its prey, without them being able to suspect it. [74] . »

51 In a convulsive context marked by the First World War, the Bolshevik revolution and the creation of a "Jewish national home" in Palestine, the myth of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, as it had been fabricated by Gougenot des Mousseaux and his disciples , once again becomes central in anti-Jewish propaganda. We find an attestation of this in chapter 12, entitled "The Jews and Freemasonry", of the pamphlet published in 1920 by Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946): *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* ("The Trace of the Jew in through the ages"). In 1921, a year before establishing himself as the "philosopher" of the National Socialist party, Rosenberg, a great admirer of Gougenot's book, published a volume of extracts translated into [75] . Affirming, German and commented on by him in his anti-Judeo pamphlet. Masonic and anti-Jesuit, *Das Verbrechen der F*

Judentum, Jesuitismus, Deutsches Christentum (1921), that "Jews and Freemasons [76] are at the head of today's world and work behind the scenes" , Rosenberg showed himself to be a faithful disciple of the French theorist of the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy", except of course in matters of defense of Catholicism. Because, following Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Rosenberg denounced the universalism of the Catholic Church, an expression of "ethnic chaos", to which he opposed the "new faith: the myth of blood", more precisely the myth of "Nordic blood". » *(The Myth of the 20th Century,* 1930). From then on, the "Judeo-Masonic plot" aimed less at Christian civilization than at the "Aryan race" or "Nordic-Germanic" civilization. After his break with Nazi circles, who spread the rumor that he was a Freemason, Erich Ludendorff (1865-1937) published an anti-Masonic pamphlet in 1927: *Vernichtung der Freimaurerei durch Enthüllung ihrer Geheimnisse* ("Annihilation of Freemasonry by the unveiling of its secrets), one of whose theses is that "the secret of Freemasonry is the Jew".

52 In Nazi propaganda, the major theme of "Judeo-Masonism", without ever disappearing, will gradually give way to that of "Judeo-Bolshevism". While, in the years 1919-1923, the founders of National Socialism still attached great importance to the fight against "Judeo-Masonry" and "Jewish capitalism", after the seizure of power, the Nazi discourse will center on the fight against "Jewish Bolshevism" or "Judeo-Bolshevism", under the assumption that Bolshevism is only the expression and instrument of "international Jewry". The official thesis, formulated by the Führer, is that Bolshevism is a creation of "international Jewry" and obeys "Jewish leadership". In the speech he gives on September 9, 1936 at the NSDAP Congress in Nuremberg, "Der entscheidende

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Weltkampf", "The decisive hour in the struggle between Europe and [77] », Alfred Bolshevism Rosenberg thus denounces the "danger arising from Bolshevism and international Jewry, its organizer". He characterizes the enemy as "Jewish Sovietism" and denounces "the explosion of Jewish Marxism throughout the world", but also rejects "the Judeo-Bolshevik press and the Jewish press of big capital", because, he asserts- he, Bolshevism is a false enemy of capitalism – the proof is that, "in the Soviet Russia of workers and peasants, it is neither these nor those who reign today, but capitalism of 'the most brutal state under exclusively Jewish leadership'. Rosenberg summarizes his anti-Judeo-Bolshevik vision by positing that "fundamentally, Bolshevism is the form of the Jewish world revolution", and postulates the existence of a "Jewish command post" of the latter. From then on, National Socialism can present itself as the only real enemy of "Judeo-Bolshevik terror", a visible expression not only of a "psychic epidemic" but also, more profoundly, of a "conjuration of a universal character". .

But if the vocabulary has clearly changed, the classic scheme of the "conjuring of the Illuminated" remains present, organizing the new vision of the "Jewish peril" dressed in Bolshevism. Returning to the causes of the Bolshevik revolution, Rosenberg appeals to the model of occult forces of the Masonic type, created by Barruel with reference to the Illuminated Ones of Bavaria, to denounce the alliance of "dreamers" and "conspirators", of the exalted and the conspirators, angelic enthusiasts and diabolical strategists: 53

> The world war shook all peoples to their deepest foundations, it pushed millions of individuals to despair and this political-social despair – also due, in large part, to a capitalist organization hostile to peoples – was the springboard for reinforced propaganda of the Bolshevik-Marxist doctrine. In all walks of life, dreamers arose telling their listeners about the ideals of humanity, of a universal republic, of a fair, classless social order, etc. Joining them were the conscious conspirators, skilled in exploiting the distress of millions and millions of individuals as well as the words of dreamers and able to bribe, for the insurrection, with the help of resources from Jewish organizations long prepared, the agents of new provocations. 54

In France, Mgr Jouin published a commented edition of the *Protocols* in October 1920, based on the Nilus version, followed in 1922 by a translation of the Boutmi version of the [78] false . These translations form respectively the first and fourth volumes of a series entitled *The Judeo-Masonic Peril* (12 vols.). Mgr Jouin's thesis is that "the Judeo-Masonic plan of the "Protocols" includes a goal: world hegemony; A medium: gold; one result: the Jewish supergovernment. Goal, means and result 55

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found in the Talmudic books. He sums up his vision of the great conspiracy in one sentence: “Israel is the king, the Mason is its chamberlain and the Bolshevist its executioner. » Urbain Gohier published his own translation of the *Protocols* in December 1920, with comments that included paranoia in an apocalyptic vision of history, accusing the Jews of being the hidden cause of all the upheavals of the modern age: “Everywhere, invariably, the catastrophe is prepared for a long time, then unleashed by the Jews, by means of Jewish Freemasonry. » In Great Britain, in a series of works where erudition combines with pamphleteering style, the conspiracy historian Nesta H. Webster (1876-1960) draws inspiration as much from Barruelian culture as from the new apocalyptic literature fueled by by the publication of the *Protocols* and the conspiratorial interpretations of the Bolshevik Revolution. In his book published in 1921, *World Revolution: The Plot Against Civilization,* Webster quotes this passage from the Illuminist program according to Barruel: "We must establish a regime of universal domination, a form of government which extends over the entire world . » It is the denunciation of this project of world empire, attributed first to the Freemasons, then to the “Judeo-Masons” or to the Jews, finally to the “Judeo-Bolsheviks”, which had become a commonplace of the discourse anti-Jewish. In 1924, Webster published a new book claiming to decipher "invisible history" and provide the correct explanation of the Bolshevik Revolution: *Secret Societies and Subversives Movements.* The same year, the preface, which signs “ER”, of a brochure by Doctor Ansonneau, *Les Puissances occultes contre la France. The Judeo-Masonic dictatorship. Jews, Freemasons and Freethinkers,* writes: “The predictions of Drumont, Mgr Delassus and Copin-Albancelli are coming true, and Freemasonry manages to extend the Judeo-Masonic yoke over the entire Universe. In the East, the Jewish Sect is sovereign master with the bloodthirsty dictatorship of the Bolshevists. » In the West, politics is run by the “high international Jewish bank”. This is why, faced with the “Judeo-Masonic sect”, it is up to “Catholics and patriots to carry out incessant

In 1931, an American collaborator of Mgr Jouin, Leslie Fry – pseudonym of Louise A. Chandor, who after her marriage became Pacquita Louise de Chichmareff (1882-1970) –, who had been part of the group of professional anti-Semites paid by Henry Ford to prove the authenticity of the *Protocols*[79], pays indirect homage to “lucidity” of Jacob Brafman in his book *The Return of the Waves to the Orient. The Jew, our master:* “The World Zionist Organization or Jewish Agency or Universal Israelite Alliance – whatever name it bears – is basically nothing other than the Kahal with its eighteen centuries of accumulated experience . Its goals and principles, whether shrouded in the mysticism of the Talmud or starkly laid out in the *Protocols,* are the same today as they were under the Roman Empire. » Leslie Fry is helping to prepare a two-volume reference work on language conspiracy literature English, *Occult Theocrasy* (1933), signed by his friend Lady Queenborough (aka Edith

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Starr Miller), denouncing a vast polymorphous conspiracy, involving Jesuits, Jews, Masons, Gnostics and *Illuminati:* “Jesuit = Judaico-Masonic-Gnostico-Bragmanico-Illuminati [80] . It should be noted, however, that in the glosses which Theology” accompany the editions of the *Protocols,* the B'nai B'rith is also mentioned, even if less often than the 1 Zionist Congress (Basel, summer 1897), the Zionist leaders Theodor Herzl or Ascher Ginzberg (under his pen name Achad Ha-am) being specifically implicated in the holding of the secret sessions of which the *Protocols* would have been the minutes. In 1924, in his book partially devoted to the *Protocols* (which he presents as an authentic document), *Emperor Nicholas II and the Jews,* the tsarist general Alexander D. Netchvolodow characterized the B'nai B'rith as "the organ of the all-powerful Judeo-Masonic Order which has one million members", and is content to cite on the question the work of Mgr Jouin, *The Judeo-Masonic Peril* (vol. II). The thesis supported by Fry, in *La Vieille France* de Gohier as in the *Revue Internationale des Sociétés Secretes,* is that Ginzberg was the true author of the document. The thesis of the Zionist origin was also supported by Alfred Rosenberg, directly implicating Herzl himself. In 1927, Rosenberg published a booklet by Franz Eher in Munich entitled *The Congress of the World Conspiracy in Basel,* subtitled “On the Authenticity of the *Zionist Protocols ”,* where he designates Herzl. But the B'nai B'rith track will keep its supporters.

The reference to B'nai B'rith, in conspiracy literature, functions as a denunciation of the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy". Three interpretations must, however, be distinguished: first, that which amounts to seeing in the international Jewish organization a “Jewish Freemasonry”; then, that which consists of deciphering the said organization as the hidden Jewish center of Freemasonry, of denouncing it as the secret direction of the latter; finally, the one who gives B'nai B'rith for a Judeo-Masonic organization among others. In his magazine *Le Réveil du Peuple,* in 1936, the anti-Jewish propagandist Jean Boissel (1891-1951) published an article denouncing B'nai B'rith as the incarnation of "Judaic Masonry" established as a center of Jewish leadership. international Masonic of all “secret societies”: “The B’naï B’rith form a Jewish elite of all “national” and international Masonries: they are the implementing center which, after having developed the details of the world Jewish program, gives its directives to all the other Masonic Orders, which are its walking wings. » The Russian anti-Semite Nicolas E. Markov, known as “Markov II”, former leader of the Russian People's Union who rallied to Nazism and headed the Russian section of the *Weltdienst* (or “World Service), an anti-Jewish propaganda center created by the Nazis at the end of 1933), claimed that an alliance had been contracted between [81] the Freemasons and the B'nai B'rith shortly after th

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Political uses of myth in the 1930s

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At the end of the 1920s and in the 1930s, the traditionalist writers Léon de Poncins (1897-1975) and Emmanuel Malynski (1875-1938) revived in France the myth of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy with a view to unmasking the SDN, the black beast Catholic counter-revolutionaries. In 1928, Léon de Poncins published his most emblematic book: *The Secret Forces of the Revolution. Freemasonry and Judaism,* which concludes with the measures to be taken to “fight against the revolutionary danger”, in order to definitively eliminate “the Judeo-Masonic microbe”: “We must first of all abandon the mortal principles of 89 that we have inculcated the Jews and the Masons, we must abandon parliamentarism, universal suffrage, liberalism, demagoguery, atheism considered as the state religion. » The same traditionalist Catholic author published two new pamphlets in 1932: *The Jews Masters of the World* and *Freemasonry, the Power of the Occult.* Followed, in 1934, the publication of *La Franc-Maçonnerie based on its secret documents.* The same year, the journalist and essayist Lucien Pemjean (1861-1945), one of Drumont's successors, launched the monthly *Le Grand Occident* and published a pamphlet with the unequivo In his introductory text, after having denounced "the underground and harmful work of Judeo-Masonry", regarding "the appalling Stavisky scandal", Pemjean exposes his interpretative model, based on a Manichean vision opposing "the Anti-France" and its "mercenaries" to the real France: "As in the time of Boulangism, Panamism and Dreyfusism, here are once again standing face to face, on the one hand a Parliamentarianism of decadence, supported by all forces occult lodges, ghettos and Pluto-Demagogic Parties, and, on the other hand, a Nationalism of recovery and renovation, in revolt against the impotence and corruption of the regime... of this abject regime which, under the jeers from abroad, ruins, disarms and poisons our country. » The pamphlet ends with a call to drive out “the Judeo-Masonic vermin” which “infests” and “infects” France. In 1934, Jean Renaud (1880-1952), known as Jean-Renaud, “president-chief” of French Solidarity, published his conference in Nouvelles Éditions nationaux – directed by Henri (known as “Henry”) Coston (1910-2001). titled *The Judeo-Mason Republic of Gangsters,* a brochure that he dedicated to all those who were “assassinated on February 6, 1934, on the Concorde”. And this former collaborator of the wealthy far-right perfumer François Coty (1874-1934) deplores that the French are not “of the caliber of the Hitlerites who, in Germany, threw the Judeo-Masonic-socialist edifice to the ground”. In a pamphlet published the following year, [82], where he claims to want to put an end to “the republic as " *French Solidarity attacks...* imposed on us by the Freemasons, the internationals and the financiers-who-run-the-world", Jean Renaud sets out the main points of his program, the first four of which are as follows: “We want: 1. To bring France to life, through class collaboration, in honor, social justice and cleanliness. 2. Create a

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> **Strong state […]. 3. Subordinate the powers of money to the public interest, destroy trusts and cartels […]. 4. Annihilate the power of Judeo-Masonry; suppress Marxism and block the way for collectivist internationals. »**

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In 1936, Poncins published a new pamphlet: *SDN Masonic Super-State,* as well as his summary work: *The Mysterious Jewish International,* where he denounces "the alliance of finance and revolution" at the same time as "the Judaization of world", through the press, this "great power". He is also indignant at the "conspiracy of silence" on works unmasking Jews and Freemasons: "An immense work of destruction is being hatched in the shadows and very few people know about it because the press does not know about it. never **speaks . All those who, directly or indirectly, have dealt with Freemasonry or Judaism, know from experience that from the first steps, we come up against a powerful conspiracy of silence. » This is a *topos* of conspiracy literature, which plays the role of new proof of the existence of the conspiracy, according to the following reasoning: if the conspiracy is revealed publicly, it is doomed to failure; therefore the conspirators have an interest in organizing silence around the texts which reveal the conspiracy; however, the "conspiracy of silence" is observable; therefore the conspiracy exists. The same year, Poncins and his master Emmanuel Malynski, a Polish Catholic aristocrat theoretician of the counter-revolution, published a sort of treatise on the strategies, tactics and manipulations of the diabolical enemy with many faces: *The Occult War,* including the subtitle immediately explains the content: "Jews and Freemasons to conquer the world". The work, largely inspired by the *Protocols,* fascinated the Italian tr**

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> **This is therefore a historical presentation or, to put it better, an interpretation of history aimed at grasping the secret intelligence which is hidden behind the most significant events of the last century, their logic, which, inaccessible to the superficial observer, proves on the contrary precise and inexorable from a rigorously traditional, Catholic and aristocratic point of view. The period studied goes from the Holy Alliance to the Bolshevik revolution; therefore, a century of history, filled with wars, revolutions, unexampled clashes between economic and social forces, devastations of all kinds, of which it is wrong to think, as we very often do, that they are "spontaneous" or that they can be explained by apparent historical factors alone, whereas, for de Malynski and de Poncins, they can be reduced to a real "plan" and understood as episodes of a struggle to the death against the old hierarchical Europe. To whom do we owe the initiative and organization of such a plan? For the authors of the book in question, the answer is beyond doubt: to Judaism and Freemasonry, whose action was initially exercised on two apparently opposed fronts, but, in reality, complementary, to judging by their ultimate goals: the front of the revolutionary International (liberal, social democratic, Marxist, communist) and the front of the financial or capitalist International; then, by even more occult means, on the head**

Evola translated the work into Italian three years later and signed the introduction. 61
In Spain, from 1935, the Falange launched a campaign against Freemasonry, which radicalized and expanded the following year, as evidenced by this proclamation of August 1936: "Comrade! Your duty is to hunt down Jews, Masonry, Marxism and separatism. Destroy and burn their newspapers, their books, their magazines, their propaganda. »

In 1938, at the beginning of an article on "the instruments of occult war", the 62
counter-revolutionary philosopher underlined the "subterranean" dimension of the war waged by occult forces: "The occult war is the war that the forces of global subversion goes behind the scenes in ways that almost always escape ordinary methods of investigation. » For Evola, there is little doubt about the identity of those waging the occult war, and on this point he agrees with the conspiratorial vision of the great Catholic or Orthodox polemicists, without however excluding that "Judeo-Masonry" is itself even directed without its knowledge by more secret pow
In an article entitled "On the relationship between Judaism and Masonry" published in June 1937 in *La Vita Italiana* – a journal founded in 1913 and directed by the most racist of fascist ideologues, the defrocked priest Giovanni Preziosi (1881-1945) –, Evola cites, with approval, the formula of one of the most delirious Russian specialists in the "Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevik plot", Gregor Schwarz-Bostunitsch, who rallied to N
of Masonry, it is the Jew", before concluding: "Politically and socially,

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Masonry and Judaism belong to the same front. And opposing it is necessary. » The reason is that it is necessary to "paralyze one of the main instruments in the service of the occult will to power of a race which is not ours, and whose triumph, visible or invisible, would not have been expected. 'other meaning than the decline of the most precious heritage of the best Indo-European culture'.

Anti-Judeo-Masonism provides the elements allowing us to rewrite modern and contemporary history, such as the history of the Judeo-Masonic conquest of France and more broadly of Europe. An alternative historiography has thus been constituted, with its various currents, since the 1880s. These are the broad outlines of this "alter-history" that the essayist Georges Ollivier, collaborator of the *International Review of Secret Societies,* sketches **in his lecture delivered on February 27, 1936 at the Salle des Centralaux, "The accession of the Jews to power":** 63

> **At the start of the Third Republic, the Rothschilds' most brilliant exploit was the collapse of the General Union that the Catholics and the royalists had created to defend themselves against Jewish finance. *The enchantment of France* then made rapid progress. The Dreyfus affair allowed the Israelites and their Freemason associates to enter en masse into the administration that the right-thinking people were leaving. The II headquarters office was closed for the greatest pleasure of the Masonic General Security. Finally, Judeo-Masonry obtained the expulsion of congregations and the closure of hundreds of free schools. *The enslavement of France* continued all the more easily as socialism developed there. […] Throughout the 19th century […], the Jews acted. They got their hands on the working classes and on Freemasonry. They organized themselves secretly, under the pretext of defending their oppressed brothers in Eastern Europe, and in the second half of the 19th century, they had at their service two equally powerful associations, the *B'nai B'rith* and the Israelite Alliance. universal. The *B'nai B'rith* – the Sons of the Alliance – constitute a true francophone masonry for the exclusive use of Jews. […] His role in the Russian Revolution was considerable. […] The Universal Israelite Alliance matters much more to us. […] Regardless of the organization on which they relied, Western Jews everywhere managed to conquer a predominant position at the end of the 19th century: they were rich, they had the right of citizenship and used it widely. They had pushed themselves into all administrations and ministries.** 64

Shortly after its creation in 1936, the World Jewish Congress was added to the list of targets of anti-Judeo-Masonic literature, in a context where Jews were accused of "wanting war" and pushing democracies to go to war. against Nazi Germany. In Italy, Julius Evola, fellow traveler of fascism and admirer of the esoteric dimension of Nazism, wrote in 1938, in his introduction to the reissue of the edition of the *Protocols* due to the fascist ideologue Giovanni Preziosi: "Groupings 65

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decisive forces are being prepared. These are exactly the pre-final phases of the Protocols plan . In fact, taking the mother ideas of this "apocryphal" writing as a basis also means having a sure common thread to discover the deepest unitary meaning of all the most important upheavals of recent times. » In France in the 1930s, Henry Coston seemed to have taken over from Drumont by relaunching *La Libre Parole in 1930,* presented as an "anti-Masonic monthly review" in 1934, in an anonymous work, half compilation, half pamphlet, entitled *Les Mysteries of Freemasonry,* published by Les Nouvelles Éditions nationaux, founded in the early 1930s by Coston. The latter, author of the anti-Masonic compilation, lifted the veil on the "common occult leaders" of the "Masonic Grand Lodges" by citing a extract from the *Protocols* [83] : " While *awaiting our advent, we will create and multiply* […] *Masonic lodges in all the countries of the world;* we will attract all those who are or can be eminent agents. These lodges will form our main intelligence office and the most influential means (of our activity). We will centralize all these lodges into an administration known only to us, composed of our Sages. »

This passage from the *Protocols* was cited by Rosenberg in his essay, published in 1923, entitled *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and World Jewish Politics,* where he specified, in chapter 15, that the central direction of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy was not was other than "the Order of B'nai B'rith". Coston's review will be renamed *La Libre Parole antijudéo-maçonnique,* which is headlined November 1, 1935: "Shall we wage war on behalf of masonry? ". Question thus clarified by Coston on January 1is, 1936: "Their war. Freemasonry, slave of Jewry and Intelligence Service, pushes us to war. » On May 15, 1936, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of *Jewish France,* Coston denounced on the front page: "Facing the Jews and the Masons, the inspirers and sponsors of the Popular Front. » On June 15, he drew up his blacklist: "The Blum ministry and Judeo-Masonry. List of Jewish ministers and Masons. » French citizens of Jewish origin are particularly targeted if they are at the same time Freemasons, on the model of Adolphe Crémieux, Drumont's privileged target in *Jewish France* Coston diffuse, by the Documentation [84] . and Propaganda Center (CDP), then by the National Propaganda Office (OPN), numerous brochures, such as *Judeo-Masonry in Parliament, The Human Rights League, subsidiary of Judeo-Masonry* (a pamphlet signed "Fara"), or *The Mysteries of Freemasonry,* a laborious compilation of which he is the author and which he presents as "an important work on the Judeo-Masonic question".

Jean Boissel appeared on the French anti-Jewish scene by publishing in Aurillac, in 1935, his conference delivered at the Salle des Centraux on January 4 of the same year: *The Jew, mortal poison,* a brochure which was immediately distributed by the CDP led by Coston. Boissel begins by defining "the Jew", who "represents in fact not a religion, but a *People,* a *Race,* and even more a *Sect ":* "A *People* who have their secret government, its secret ministries, its anthems, its flag. A *Race* absolutely inassimilable to

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other races and whose sole purpose is to live as a parasite on all communities. A *Sect* finally with closed customs, secret councils, occult decisions. » Postulating that "the Jew" is the cause of all the misfortunes of humanity, Boissel takes up the accusation according to which the Jews and their Freemason accomplices voluntarily started the war of 14-18: "We know now that what was the apparent reason for the declaration of war: the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, was the work of Freemasonry executing – by order – universal Jewry , secretly arming the arm of Princip, executioner in this case of his dirty works. » He concludes by affirming that Hitler, for having had the courage to "give leave to the Jewish plague", is "the only truly great man that the post-war world has seen at work". A member of the *Weltdienst* ("World Service"), an anti-Jewish propaganda center headed by a "technical" advisor to Julius Streicher, Ulrich Fleischhauer, Boissel participated on May 9, 1935, in Nuremberg, in the first congress of the World Anti-Jewish League *(Antijüdische Weltliga). ,* headed by a close collaborator of Streicher, Paul Wurm, head of the "foreign" service of *Stürmer.* Alongside Streicher, Boissel delivered a speech entitled "Veterans' Peace" in which he celebrated Hitler as a "titan" and called, to make peace, for the fight against the "Judeo-Bolsheviks" as well as for the Franco-German union. In this speech, published in French a few months later ("My Nuremberg Speech"), he denounces both "the Jew" and its two offspring, Freemasonry and Bolshevism:

> **It is against this world enemy number 1 [the Jew] that we must, German comrades, wage our fight. And against Bolshevism too, this child of a Jew, also a bitter enemy of all humankind. *Mein Kampf* must become, for this struggle which must be a crusade, *Unser Kampf.* It is absolutely necessary, so that the world can live and breathe, to bring down this hydra with its constantly reborn heads. And with that, in the countries where it survives, the concubine of the Jew and of commur** 67

On May 10, 1935, *Der Angriff,* the newspaper founded by Joseph Goebbels, ran the headline: " Gegen *den Weltfeind! Julius Streicher and Jean Boissel in Nürnberg .* "The World Enemy" *(Der Weltfeind),* such was the title of an article published by Goebbels on March 19, 1928, in *Der Angriff,* which began by quoting a famous phrase from Walther Rathenau – ta from an article published in the *Neue Freie Presse* on [85] – which we found in the December 25, 1909 most of the accompanying texts of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion:* "Three hundred men, who all know each other, guide the economic destiny of Europe and choose their successors in their entourage. » The "three hundred men" will be transformed, in anti-Jewish propaganda texts, into "three hundred masters of the world", Jews or "Judeo-Masons", or the leaders of the "world enemy". 68

Sponsored by his friend Streicher, Boissel was received by Hitler in 1936. Paid by the Nazis, Boissel created the "Frank Front" in September 1936, a small anti-Jewish group displaying the motto "International Racism Fascism", of which *Le Réveil du peuple* was the organ. . The Frank Front wants to be "anti-Masonic, anti-parliamentary and anti-Judeometric". Boissel also founded, in July 1937, the Universal Anti-Jewish League, placed under the patronage of the widow Drumont, its "honorary president". In September 1937 he participated in the *Weltdienst* congress **in Erfurt. In February 1938, the Frank Front published its "anti-Judeo-Masonic charter" whose aim was thus specified: "To put an end and by all means to the misdeeds of the Jewish People who are uniquely destructive, and guilty, among other things, of theft, crimes and of wars. » We human appearance [86]. In February 1937, in *Der Stürmer* (No. 9), the thesis was thus formulated: "The Jew is neither a human nor an animal. He is the devil. It cannot be punished or improved. It can only be rendered harmless. »** 69

In January 1938, Lucien Pemjean's ***Le Grand Occident* published an anti-Judeo-Masonic action program whose "goal" was defined as follows: "To bring down, legally if possible, if not revolutionaryly, the Judeo-Masonic power which corrupts all regimes and leads to decadence and ruin the peoples who suffer its yoke. » The "means" recommended were as follows:** 70

> ***Against Freemasonry.* – Dissolution, with an absolute ban on reconstituting themselves in any form whatsoever, and under penalty of the most serious sanctions, of Masonic Lodges of all obediences, as well as their subsidiaries and pro-Masonic associations such as the League of Rights of man, the French Education League, the Fraternelles, the International League against Anti-Semitism […] *Against Jewry.* – Dissolution, under the same conditions, of the Universal Israelite Alliance, of the Kahals, Sanhedrins, Consistory […], where, under the pretext of worship and beneficent works, all the major political-financial affairs intended to ensure the Israel's global hegemony. Assimilation to foreigners of members of the Jewish nation residing in France […]. *Against Judeo-Masonry.* – Opening of a large-scale judicial investigation against the leaders and main agents and accomplices, parliamentarians, financiers and others, of Freemasonry and Jewry, with a view to their indictment for conspiracy against the security of the State .** 71

After having mentioned and summarized this action program, the *International Review of Secret Societies,* in its issue of January 15, 1938, made this clarification: "The *Le Franc Catholique* League **[…] wishes the dissolution of the Masonic and Jewish revolutionary organizations , the revision of the scandalous naturalizations of recent years,** 72 the expulsion of undesirables, but it does not believe it is possible to achieve this goal through the constitution of a White International. She is, as her title indicates: French and Catholic. »

In a collection of articles published in the spring of 1939, *Israel Against the Nations,* the traditionalist essayist Georges Batault, close to Léon de Poncins, summarizes his geopolitical vision as follows: “International Jewry, for obvious reasons and, in his eyes, vital, works with all its strength and by all means [...] for the destruction of so-called totalitarian States, whose policy is based on anti-Semitism, and whose conception of the world is directly antagonistic to the conception of the world deriving from values Jewish, as we find them in Judeo-Masonic liberalism, in all its forms, and in Judeo-Marxism. The Italian fascist movement and the German national socialist movement, even in their excesses, represent a reaction of the Western spirit and civilization against the messianic and rationalist universalism deriving from Jewish conceptions of man and society. . » 73

At the end of the 1930s, the great proof of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy remained the famous forgery, the *Protocols,* even recognized as such. In 1940, in his pamphlet entitled *The Deadly Embrace of Judeo-Masonry,* a collection of articles published in 1938-1939 and prefaced by Jean Drault, Paul Ganem summarized the common opinion on the *Protocols :* “If the *Protocols* are apocryphal, they express, on the other hand, in an indisputable way the work tirelessly pursued by Judeo-Masonry. […] Who would dare, in good faith, to maintain that the work of devastation of morality and the economy in France is not that of Judeo-Masonry? This harmful work […] is absolutely identified with the very concepts and precepts of the *Protocols. »* Even if they are a forgery according to the letter, the *Protocols* are authentic according to the spirit, because they refle
This is the argument most often put forward by followers of the gnosis of the great conspiracy. 74

In a militant pamphlet published in Brussels in 1938 by “Action et Civilization” editions, *Jews, Freemasons, anarchists working for the world civil war,* Commander de Launoy – pseudonym of the Brussels lawyer Léopold Flament (1884- 1947?), which also signs "Regulus" -, referring to the Spanish War, virulently denounces "those responsible for the chaos into which the revolutionary forces" plunged Spain, namely: "international Jewry and its allies and servants: Freemasonry, anarchism and communism. In his preface, Launoy warns his reader while justifying his pamphlet: “If Western civilization does not want to be drowned in a bath of blood and horror, as predicted by the Talmud (religious code of the Israelites) , if it wants to defeat the revolutionary forces united against it, it must know the secret links which unite these forces, in order to be able to escape their embrace. » Accusing the Jews of aiming for “ world domination”, on the basis of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* Launoy resumes his account the thesis of "the Jewish origin of Freemasonry", and denounces this 75

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latter as a "Jewish espionage institution". As for "democracy", Launoy accuses it of wanting war and of being only a "toy of secret societies". The pamphlet ends with a call to fight mercilessly "against the occult force of Freemasonry […] and against that of the Jews". On September 30, 1940, Léopold Flament and the anti-Semitic rexist Paul Ouwerx (1896-1946), who had just published *The Precursors of Communism. Freemasonry painted by itself* (1940), created the Belgian Anti-Masonic League "L'Épuration", whose propaganda and denunciation activities would be financially supported by the Propaganda-Abteilung des forces. In occupiers [87] 1943, under his pen name "Regulus", Flament published with Éditions Steenlandt, in Brussels, its commented version of the *Protocols,* subtitled like a conference program: *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Proof of the authenticity of the Protocols. Jewish plan for world domination. Creation of Freemasonry, means of use. The ways of Bolshevism.* The preface of Flament-Regulus – saying of himself that he is not "a neophyte of the Judeo-Masonic question" – concludes with this call for purifying action: "No more Jews nor Freemasons freely ! Their property must be confiscated, for the benefit of the Aryan people, in order to repair the damage caused by the war, which Jews and Freemasons wanted. Neither the Jews nor the Freemasons can delay any longer the advent of National Socialism, which must triumph over all occult forces. »

76 **The extremist ideologues and the anti-Jewish or anti-Judeo-Masonic propagandists did not only preach from their chapel. They reached a much wider audience than far-right anti-Semites and Nazi sympathizers. A large part of the Catholic public was then open to anti-Judeo-Masonic discourse. The Australian historian Paul Collins, a specialist in the history of Catholicism, has well characterized the Catholic spirit of the 1930s, oriented towards anti-communism, anti-Judaism and anti-Masonism:**

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> The great fear of Catholics was not the fear of the right but that of the left, of Bolshevism rather than fascism. […] Jews were often linked to the left. Catholics in the 1930s commonly favored anti-Judaism rather than anti-Semitism. Religious anti-Judaism is not the same as racial anti-Semitism, but it creates an atmosphere conducive to racism. After all, Catholics were still praying for the "perfidious Jews" who had put Jesus to death until 1962 […]. In the 1930s, Jews were incorrectly seen by right-wing Catholics as promoters of secular liberal values believed to undermine the Catholic identity of European culture. They saw secular liberalism as the product of a "Judeo-Masonic alliance" and often mentioned the myth of Jewish global financial domination. They also gave the latter the role of leaders of socialism and communism, even though the Jews of Europe were in fact, in the vast majority, poor, conservative and religiously orthodox. But these caricatures penetrated deeply into the Catholic conscience. Linked to the Bolsheviks, the Jews were seen as dedicated to destroying Christian civilization. The Nazis easily exploited these
>
> representations[88].

Anti-Judeo-Masonism institutionalized under the Occupation

As Alfred Naquet had been in the 1880s and 1890s, Bernard Lecache, founder (in 1929) and very active president of Lica, who became a mason in 1937, was treated as the man to be killed by the anti-Jewish and anti-mason polemicists in the end of the 1930s and under the Occupation. In the anti-Jewish propaganda pamphlet entitled *I hate you !,* mainly produced by Coston and published in April 1944 with the help of the PPF, Robert Jullien-Courtine (1910-1998) devoted a virulent article to him, "An organization Jewish combat: the LICA", which begins as follows: "A Jewish organization… and Masonic, one should say! Because the "International League against Anti-Semitism" of the Jewish Freemason Bernard Lecache offered a magnificent example of the activity of what Mgr Jouin, one of the first, called *Judeo-Masonry:* the alliance of lodges and the ghetto. » By the law of August 13, 1940 "prohibiting secret **[89]** **associations "**

, promulgated the very day after Pétain's famous radio speech known as the "bad wind", the Vichy regime had pronounced the dissolution of the "secret societies", that is to say, essentially, the Masonic lodges. This haste in anti-Masonic action, preceding by two months the promulgation of the first Statute of the Jews (October 3, 1940), can be explained by the vision that the Marshal had of the particular harmfulness of Freemasonry: "A Jew is not responsible for its origins; a Freemason is always one of his choice[90]". It is under these conditions that Bernard Faÿ

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(1893-1978), appointed head of the National Library, officially took office on August 31, 1940, "to obtain the means to organize an anti-Masonic exhibition in Paris masonry unveiled" (Paris, Petit [91] ". Faÿ is participating in the preparation of the exhibition "La franc-Palais, October-November 1940), organized on the initiative of Jacques de Lesdain, director of *L'Illustration,* and entrusted to Jean Marquès-Rivière (1903-2000), future head of the Research Department of the Secret Societies Service (created by decree on October 3, 1942), and who will be the screenwriter of the anti-Masonic and anti-Semitic propaganda film *Forces occultes,* directed by Paul Riche released in Paris on March [92] and 9, 1943. One of the conspiracy "theses" of *Forces occultes* is that the war was started by France at the instigation of Jews and Freemasons Berlitz (Paris), officially organized by the [93] . On September 5, 1941, the exhibition "The Jew and France" opened at the Palais Institute for the Study of Jewish Questions (in reality, by the German Embassy). The brochure published on this occasion, prefaced by Captain Paul Sézille (1879-1944) – general secretary of the said Institute, text by Jean Marquès-Rivière, attesting to –, contains a the intricacy of anti-Masonic and anti-Jewish circles.

The Drumontian slogan "France for the French" seemed to find an institutional translation in the policy of the French state from 1940: the hunt for "foreigners from within" (Maurras) was established as a legal practice implied by the Revolution [94] national. The elimination of "undesirables" is the necessary condition for the creation [95] of the "new order" as well as the "new Man"

. When the advisor and friend of the Marshal, René Gillouin (1881-1971), in an article entitled "Pétain" published in 1941 in a collective propaganda work *(France 1941. The Constructive National Revolution),* defined the "new State" embodying the National Revolution, he first characterizes it as "national", immediately specifying the normative and prescriptive meaning of this epithet, let us say that of a "purifying" crusade turned towards the interior of France: "As national, it ["the French State"] banishes from its bosom, or it strips of all directing influence, individuals and groups who, for reasons of race or belief, cannot or do not want to subscribe to the primacy of the French homeland: foreigners, Jews, Freemasons, communists, internationalists of all origins and all persuasions. » As the historian Yves Durand notes, the Marshal believes it is "consistent with his principles to distinguish from the common fate of all French people those who are, in his eyes, too recent – which implies the revision of the recent naturalizations; those distinguished by their religion and race – the Jews; and finally the communist, Gaullist, Freemason "dividers", targeted to varying degrees by [96] restrictive laws and convictions, thus applies to multiple targets and operates in several ways: internment or expulsion of refugees (this is how Vichy handed over German nationals to the Reich, at its request), denaturalizations (French nationality was withdrawn from

". The "purification" of the French nation

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15,154 refugees, of whom around 40% are Jewish), persecution and socio-exclusion

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economic status of Freemasons [97] , communists and Jews, the latter making the object of particular discriminatory treatment, ranging from decrees and measures restricting the rights of French Jews, striking them with legal incapacity (the first measures, aimed at denaturalizing the "undesirables" being taken by Vichy under the law of July 22, 1940) to the establishment of anti-Jewish legislation aimed at progressively excluding all Jews from socially visible national life from the spring of 1942 – [98], then to participation – from the services of the French state, through roundups, internments and deportations, to the realization of the "Final Solution of the Jewish question" in Europe 1940, by the Vichy government, had [99]. The repeal of the Marchandeau decree-law of April 21, 1939, August 27 the immediate consequence of opening the floodgates to anti-Jewish campaigns September 1940, testifies to the orientation anti- [100]. A draft speech for the Marshal, written at the end Judeo-Masonic text of the preparatory text of the law of October 3, 1940, drawn up at the request of the Minister of Justice, Jacques Alibert: "Day by day, despite denials and lies, the Freemasons will be expelled from the Administration French, the Jews will receive a status. They will cease to be French citizens to become French subjects with all the consequences that this downgrading entails. […] As for undesirable immigrants, Jewish or not, settled in France

since 1918, they will be expelled from the broadcast territory [101] ". This text served as a framework for the speech pronounced by the Marshal on October 9, 1940. The elimination of "Jewish influence", begun with the law of October 3, 1940, continues by widening and intensifying with the law of June 2, 1941 (the second Statute of the Jews) and the decrees which follow, in accordance with the wishes of Xavier Vallat (1891-1972), at the head of the general commissioner for Jewish Questions, created on March 29, 1941 on "societies secrets" presupposes, at a determined level (the elites of Freemasonry being treated like Jews), the existence of a community of nature, justifying equal treatment, between Freemasons [102]. Article 2 of the law of August 11, 1941 and Jews: "Access and the exercise of public functions and mandates listed in article 2 of the law of June 2, 1941 relating to the status of Jews are prohibited to all former dignitaries of dissolved secret societies **[103]**

". As Dominique Rémy notes, this article 2 which extended the Statute of Jews to Masons "legally" established the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy"; in addition, [104]. In article 1 of the same law specified that "the names of the former dignitaries of the dissolved secret societies will be published in the Official Journal", which amounted to "designating them to the public vindictiveness of the extremists, [105] ". Under the authority of Bernard Faÿ, 18,000 names were published and 1,000 Masonic officials were dismissed.

At the beginning of 1942, a work entitled *Penser français,* subtitled "Comments on the declaration of the Legion (August 31), was published in Clermont-Ferrand by the "Éditions de la Légion Française des Combattants et Volunteers de la Révolution nationale". **1941).**
It is a faithful mirror of the doctrinal themes of Pétainism, and the preface of the book, François Valentin – general director of the Legion since March 1941 [106] –, specifies that it proposes to "enhance better understanding and acceptance of the fundamental data of

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National Revolution." It is indeed important to the head of the French Legion of Combatants (created on August 29, 1940, on the basis of a project by Xavier Vallat, of which Valentin was the chief of staff), to "strengthen the unity of thought which is the indispensable complement of the unity of feeling now acquired. Valentin specifies that "this work of commentary" on the Legion's declaration is due to Georges Riond, responsible for "civic action", and to Roger de Saint-Chamas. In any case, the doctrine set out in detail in *Penser français,* if it is intended to be the doctrine of the Legion, is first and foremost that of the Chief, it "derives entirely from the Marshal's messages". This doctrine, add the editors of the book, "will help us to think well, that is to say to *think French ",* because "the most effective doctrine is inspired by the traditions of the country which sees it born". However, France had "lost control of its feelings and the rectitude of its judgments", which led it to defeat, even to a disaster which "was not only military", and "brought to light the disorder thrown into morals by an exhausted regime", having "lost the taste for the ideal, the habit of hierarchy, the sense of discipline". The Marshal, in his message of October 11, 1940, had provided the explanatory model of the "disaster" and defined the standards of "recovery": "The disaster is, in reality, only the reflection, on the military level, of the weaknesses and the defects of the old political regime. […] The ne

So that France can "get back up", so that it can carry out its "internal recovery", and thus definitively emerge from the "old regime", that is to say from the period of "intellectual and social disorder pushed to the point of anarchy" which caused "the disaster of 1940", it must know who its "adversaries" are. The editors of *Penser français* take care to distinguish the "adverse forces" in the strict sense: "Marxism, capitalism, Judaism", and their "inspirer", their "exciter", Freemasonry, whose formidable weapons are "the Lie and the Secret. What characterizes the political imagination of the Pétainist legionnaires is the fear of "secret societies", of hidden powers whose "mysterious orders" are executed by "committees", other "adverse forces" or organizations of facade. "International capitalism" or "international high finance" represent the first of these "adverse forces", "anti-national" and "revolutionary" Marxism constitutes the second of these forces of division and destruction. Is it necessary to recall that the Marshal, in his appeal of July 11, 1940, denounced the "dark alliance" of "international capitalism" and "international socialism"? 81

It remains to characterize the third of the "adverse forces": "stateless Judaism" or, more simply, "the Jews". The latter, following the doctrinaires of the Legion, are found wherever occult forces, international by nature, are working towards the ruin of France: "Parallel to liberalism and its consequences, to capitalism egoism and revolutionary Marxism, there are the Jews. They are found in all 82

dissociative forces. They also form a large part of the Masonry workforce and they get along wonderfully to eat away, mesh by mesh, the network of our traditions. […] What is serious is that the Jews constitute, in every country, a national and social danger. »

83 **But it is especially in collaborationist circles that the fight against "Judeo-Masonism" is organized and takes, with the support of the Occupation authorities, an institutional form. After joining the PPF, Coston immediately offered his services to Vichy as well as to the Germans, and notably became director of the Action and Documentation Center (CAD), whose declared objective was "the fight against Judeo-Masonry, its agents , its subsidiaries, and their accomplices", and collaborated, like Poncins, with *Documents maçonniques* (October 1941-June 1944), a monthly review directed by Bernard Faÿ, with editors-in-chief Jean Marquès-Rivière and Robert Vallery-Radot (1885- 1970). The latter has just published with Grasset a pamphleteer essay, *Israel and Us* (1940), where he begins by opposing "Jewish values" to "Christian values", and concludes with this warning: "It is not only in the Jew as a man in flesh and blood that Semitism must be exorcised. […] The truth is that we are not victims, but accomplices and that, without our complicity, Israel would never have achieved this power of corruption that we see in it. If we allowed our faith to be denied in order to embrace the carnal Messianism of the Masonic revolution and its natural daughter, Marxism, it is because our nature gave secret consent to this revolt against the Christian order. (…) The struggle is *above all spiritual.* It is […] the struggle of the Antichrist and Christ. » "Christ or Antichrist? » : it is with this rhetorical question that in 1934, Vallery-Radot titled the last chapter of his pamphlet also pu**

84 **Explicitly combining anti-Semitism and anti-Masonism, Coston published at the CAD, in 1941, a malicious compilation entitled *The Jews in France* and a libelle titled *When Freemasonry governed France,* then, in 1942, *America, bastion of Israel,* and *Freemasonry under the Third Republic,* indictment of "Judeo-Masonry". Which did not prevent him from publishing in 1942, with Jean-Renard Editions, an anti-plutocratic pamphlet of which he subsequently produced numerous expanded and updated versions: *Jewish High Finance and Trusts.* In addition to *Les Cahiers de la France nouvelle,* the CAD published an *anti-Masonic Information Bulletin,* benefiting from the services of a network of informants covering all of France. It was a question of "unmasking the camouflaged Jews and their Freemason accomplices". The CAD's reports are transmitted in particular to the Secret Societies Service, the PPF, Inspector Georges Moerschell (director of the Special Service for Dissolved Associations and agent of the Gestapo), the German embassy and the Ge August Moritz, leader of German anti-Masonic action in the occupied zone, and chaired**

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by the racist jurist William Gueydan de Roussel (1908-1996), mission manager at the Secret Societies Service. In 1943, Coston became a member of the Aryan Circle – chaired by Paul Chack (1876-1945), already president of the Anti-Bolshevik Action Committee –, where he chaired the admissions committee. In Coston's anti-Judeo-Masonic activities, supported by the Germans and financed from the secret funds of Vichy, we must also include his collaboration, under his name or under the pseudonym of "Georges Virebeau", in numerous newspapers of the Collaboration *(Le Cri du peuple, La France au travail, Au Pilori, Paris-Soir,* etc.)

[107] .

85 In Mussolini's Italy, the tireless Giovanni Preziosi published in 1941 in Milan, at Mondadori, a voluminous pamphlet denouncing the vast polymorphous plot organized by the Jews and their allies: *Giudaismo – Bolscevismo – Plutocrazia – Massoneria,* where he designates masonry and democracy as the “main instruments of the Jewish International”, before taking up, quoting Henry Ford, the legend of the “Kahal”, the alleged “secret government” of Israel. This pamphlet will be followed the following year by a brochure accusing the Jews of having “wanted war” published in *La Vita Italiana* an article entitled “Has France overcome the Masonic danger? », on the occasion of a pamphlet by Poncins which has just been published: *Freemasonry against France.* He [108] . In November 1941, Evola begins by emphasizing the specificity of French anti-Judeo-Masonism, due to its radicality:

86

> In France there is an old tradition of fighting against Judaism and Masonry. It is precisely because France was the first, among the great European nations, to suffer the most deleterious action of these subversive forces, that the the most energetic reactions. Often, French anti-Semitism and anti-Masonism have therefore presented a more radical character than in other nations, as well as a traditionalist and conservative, therefore frequently aristocratic, orientation, unlike certain more recent forms of anti-Semitism and anti-Masonism, in which the main point of reference has been the modern idea of nation and national community.

87 Then Evola, reaffirming the canonical conspiracy thesis on the march of History (considered in its “underground dimension”), raises the question of a secret direction, by “occult leaders”, of Freemasonry itself, without ruling out the hypothesis of a Jewish leadership, but without considering it entirely satisfactory: “The point of view of L. de Poncins – to which we ourselves adhere that the whole of the world subversion which occurred during of recent centuries cannot be fortuitous, due simply to the errors, deviations and blindness of men, –, It is therefore this leads us to think of the existence of an inspiring, occult center

and international » Poncins, for his part, did not conclude: “What we can say

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However, if it exists, this center is above Freemasonry itself and the latter is a weapon in its hands. » The classic response of the Barruelians was to suppose the ultra-secret existence of back lodges, masked by the visible lodges. But who could occupy the back boxes, if not the “Princes of Judah”? Unless the “Unknown Superiors” are doomed to remain forever unknown, because, for mysterious reasons, their identity or nature would be unknowable.

88 In 1942, André Chaumet, vice-president of the Association of Anti-Jewish Journalists and director of the *Cahier jaune* (launched in November 1941) published under the aegis of the Institute for the Study of Jewish Questions, republished the *Petit Catechisme anti-Jew* of HAS. de Boisandré, whose news he strives to bring up in an afterword which ends thus: “The exploiters and parasites no longer have a place in the painfully rebuilt house. There is no more room for the usurer and shelter for usury. No more room for Israel. No more shelter for his plots and machinations. » The last word in the conspiracy of Collaboration is due to Coston who concludes his article entitled “From the Talmud to *the Protocols ”,* published in April 1944 in the anti-Jewish pamphlet *I hate you !,* with this warning in the form of a threat: “This war constitutes the The final phase of the age-old struggle that Judaism is waging against non-Jewish peoples. The triumph of the Jews and their “allies” would mean the total enslavement of our planet to the “Wise Men of Zion”. Frenchman, do you want t

Contemporary avatars of the anti-Judeo-Masonic myth: currents of anti-globalism

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89 In the post-war period, following the model of the demonization of the League of Nations, the scheme of the “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy” was applied, in various variants, to the denunciation of certain international organizations – starting with the UN – supposedly act with a view to establishing a “World Government” involving the destruction of nations, while weaving links constituting from now on an “Invisible Government”. This is the leitmotif of the “anti-globalization” combat literature which flourished from the 1950s and of which we find variants in all sensibilities of what is commonly called “the extreme right”, from neo-Nazis to traditionalists. Catholics, through nationalist circles. The counter-revolutionary Catholic lecturer Pierre Virion (1899-1988), former collaborator of the *International Review of Secret Societies,* returns to service by denouncing in an essay “the occult forces in the modern world” (1966), a conference delivered in Rome on October 25, 1965. Detailing the individuals and groups forming part of the “occult forces” or of what the same Virion calls “the plot”, the title of one of his libels (1969), this is, however, a task almost infinite: this underground world, that of “occult movements”, is populated many families and tribes. Virion establishes itself as one of the main

French-speaking “anti-globalization” propagandists, in the line of Mgr Jouin, from whom he borrowed his rhetoric, for example by publishing a short essay entitled *Soon a World Government? A Super and Counter-Church* (1966).

But for most conspiracy authors, the basis of power is now mainly financial: the repulsive model of the Rothschild family tends to dethrone that of the Universal Israelite Alliance, embodied by Crémieux. The “international bankers” or the “great cosmopolitan bankers”, supposed to be part of an international oligarchy, tend to replace the Freemasons, they are perceived as a sort of Freemasonry of cosmopolitan finance. The postulate remains however: all "international" are linked, they are all of the same nature and all have the same final objective, the creation of a "World Government", denounced as "the old dream of Jewish messianism", the dream of a “universal empire under the authority of a stateless [109] ". If there is a “messianism of finance international oligarchy", is that it is only an emanation of the occult superpower, prison, it is called "Jewish" or “Judeo-Masonic”. Barely released from a long stay in Henry Coston began a new career as a conspiracy publicist, publishing in 1955 a first compilation work, *The Financiers Who Lead the World,* which included a chapter entitled “Rothschild, king of the era” and another devoted to a famous American, as much for his wealth as well as for his anti-Semitism: “An anti-capitalist billionaire: Ford”. The work has a sequel, published in 1958, under the title *La Haute Banque et les trusts.* In the meantime, Coston launched the monthly *Lectures françaises,* which he directed from 1957 to 1977. No. 53-54 of *Lectures françaises,* dated August-September 1961, devoted its central file to "the eternal question", an allusive title as the subtitle explains: “A glance at secret societies”. No. 61-62 of the monthly, dated April-May 1962, including a [110], headline: “The Republic file on the government of Georges Pompidou of the Rothschilds. The file is presented in conspiratorial and populist terms, denouncing the “betrayal” of the elites for the benefit of the plutocratic system whose “king” is called Rothschild: “To better understand into whose hands France has fallen, we present the Rothschild Empire of today, this immense spider's web which covers the whole of France and holds prisoners a whole people of workers, bourgeois, shopkeepers, plowmen and soldiers deceived by their natural guides and betrayed by their political leaders. We finally explain how, through an ingenious system […], the assets, the goods, the savings of Mr. Dupont, an average Frenchman, serve to strengthen the power of men of money in general, and of the Rothschild banker in particular. . » The same conspiratorial, anti-globalist and anti-plutocratic vision is found in a special issue of *Lectures françaises* published in 1968: *The Secret of the Gods,* as well as in one of Coston's last works, *La Fortune Anonyme et Vagabonde,* published in 1984. formula which Coston made the title of his book is taken from a famous s constitutes, for this publicist who was a professional in Judeophobia from 1929/1930 to his

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Death (2001), and an unwavering defender of the authenticity of the *Protocols,* a metaphor for international Jewish power. Persistence of the repulsive myth of the “Rothschild Jew”, which will continue to feed anti-capitalist Judeophobia. But Coston did not forget the legend of the “Masonic plot”: in 1979, he published *The Conjuration of* [111]

Illuminated . In 1983, he sponsored the publication of a conspiracy pamphlet by his friend Jacques Bordiot (1900-1983), *The Invisible Government,* a collection of all the “anti-globalization” clichés of the time. The same Bordiot, collaborator of the far-right monthly *Lectures françaises* (directed by Coston), had published another essay in 1974 conspiracyist and “anti-globalist” under the title *A hidden hand directs…* [112] . In November 1976, he published in *Lectures françaises* (n° 235) an article entitled “The UN and the World Government”, where he denounces those whom Coston calls the “true masters of the world”: “When we know […] that […] the influence of Israel is decisive in the choice of the president of the United States […], we can guess who will pull the strings of this World Government. » To the same genre of pamphlets belong the works of Yann Moncomble (1953-1990), disciple of Coston: *The Trilateral and the Secrets of Globalism* (1980), *The Irresistible Expansion of Globalism* (1981), or *From the Rape of the Crowds to the Synarchy or the permanent conspiracy* (1983). Moncomble summarized his vision of the world in February 1984 in *Lectures françaises,* where he signed an article entitled “Freemasonry, Trilateral, Bilderberg, Club Le Siècle… same fight”. The collapse of Soviet communism is seen as the victory of “globalism”. In October 1991, *Lectures françaises* (No. 414) headlined: “One international chases the other. From communism to globalism. But the paranoid vision of Freemasonry and its “invisible power” has not disappeared from the anti-globalization landscape. *Lectures françaises* (n° 444) headlined in April 1994: “The power of the Masonic International”. In the article devoted to it, we learn that “the Masonic International is a super-State”, “a true supranational State”, and that consequently “the fight against secret societies continues.

These so-called "secret societies" with a "globalist" aim are supposed to bring together the powerful of this world, such as the Bilderberg group, designated as one of the main places of meeting, coordination and decision-making of the world oligarchy or " the international financial elite. In “classic” far-right conspiracy literature (Henry Coston, Gary Allen), the Bilderberg group is included in a black series of “globalist” organizations supposedly omnipotent and evil: the Trilateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), B'nai B'rith, Skull and Bones, etc. [113]. To denounce them, Coston published a series of “anti-globalization” pamphlets in the 1980s, reissued in the 1990s, such as: *A New Synarchy. The Trilateral dominates nations and enslaves people. Here are his secret agents in the world, The Secret World of Bilderberg. How High Finance and Technocrats Dominate Nations.* But, at the same time, the satanizing and apocalyptic interpretation of the “plot Judeo-Masonic” was recycled by a conspiracy author like William Guy

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Carr, a Canadian Protestant fundamentalist who, after publishing in 1955 his master book, *Pawns on the Chessboard,* worked until the day before his death (October 1959) on a pamphlet denouncing the "Luciferian conspiracy", the driving force behind " World revolutionary movement", conspiracy "directed against God and [114]. Carr wrote in 1958 a summary of his man by those who are part of the Synagogue of Satan here on earth" worldview: *The World Conspiracy whose goal is to destroy all governments and all religions in place .* He specifies with the greatest seriousness that "the Synagogue of Satan is made up […] of men and women of a large number of nationalities which go back to Cain, the son of Eve". In France, Carr's Catholic counterpart is the Marquis de La Franquerie, author of *Lucifer & the occult* [115]). The work begins with the statement of the conspiracy belief *power,* subtitled: "Judeo-Masonry, Sects, Marxism, Democracy: Synagogue of Lucifer & Counter-Church » (fundamental 1984 by the author, heir of Mgr Jouin: "An in-depth study of the current situation in the world proves that occult Power, Freemasonry, sects, democracy, Marxism and revolution are only the arm of the octopus embodying the Synagogue of Satan, that is to say the Cou

92 **Author of *The Hidden Face of Modern History,* published in four volumes in Spanish, considered[116] . Jean Lombard (who also signs Jean Lombard Cœurderoy) can be a spiritual heir of Carr. Denouncer of "globalism" in the 1970s and 1980s, Lombard presents himself as a specialist in "secret history" and the action of "occult forces" or secret societies in universal history since the fall of Constantinople (May 29, 1453). In *Lectures françaises,* in October 1984 (No. 330), the merits of Lombard's work are praised as follows: "Mr. Lombard […] moves with astonishing ease through the maze of secret societies, conspiracies, hermetic doctrines or financial combinations […]. He explains how the High Bank, Freemasonry and the Marxist International dominate the world, establishing their conquests thanks to the war-revolution binary. » The "counter-revolutionary" bulletin *Lecture et Tradition* (n° 108, July-August 1984), directed by Jean Auguy, is no less laudatory: "Let us congratulate the author whom posterity will surely place among the great masters of Anti-subversive History, Barruel, Cretineau-Joly, Nicolas Deschamps and Mgr Delass**

93 **Soviet Russia, particularly under the second reign of Leonid Brezhnev (1977-1982), was not spared from anti-Judeo-Masonic paranoia, embellished with "anti-Zionist" demonological-style motifs borrowed from official propaganda.[117] In USSR, the "Zionologist" *Valeri* Emelianov (1929-1999) is one of the Soviet intellectuals who, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, acquired a certain celebrity by going to war publicly against the Jews (and/or the "Zionists") and the Freemasons. This trained orientalist, reputed to also be**

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historian and economist, communist intellectual and militant neopagan, who was director of the Arabic department at the Maurice Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages (Moscow), was an anti-Semitic writer known from the 1960s-1970s. He joined " Pamiat" in 1987 only to be excluded three years later because of his extremism and especially his radical anti-Christianity. On January 10, 1977, in Moscow (international section of the CPSU), Emelianov's report on the "world conspiracy" was published, in which the "international Judeo-Masonic pyramid", the fulcrum of the "Zionists", was denounced. This is how they control 80% of the economy in capitalist countries and 90-95% of the media. Emelianov asks the quintessential conspiracy question: "Who is behind Jimmy Carter and the Eurocommunists?" », and responds by listing all the Jews or Freemasons belonging to the Carter government. His thesis is that the "Zionists are introduced among the goyim thanks to the masons" and that each mason

[118] is "an active informer of the Zionists" . It is therefore a question for him of denouncing the members of the American "Zionist-Masonic" government, initiators and actors of a vast plot aimed at strangling the Soviet Union. To ensure the defense of the latter, Emelianov proposes the creation of a "World Anti-Zionist and Anti-Masonic Front (VASAMF), similar to the anti-fascist front of the 1930s-1940s", because, he specifies, "the threat of a world domination of Zionism, set for the year 2000, weighs on all the goyim of the world. Emelianov is also the author of a pamphlet entitled *Desionizatsiia* ("De-Zionization" including that the Christian Church was a "Zionist sect" and that Jesus Christ had been a Freemason "international Zionist [119]), translated into Arabic and published in Damascus. We learn there conspiracy"

[120] . According to him, the Christianization of Russia was the result of a

[121] . This pamphlet was reissued in Moscow in 1995 [122] .

Emelianov's public statements on the global "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy" are among the most delusional that could be collected during the last three decades of the 20th century: 94

It is

> In seventy-three years of communism, the Jews have liquidated one hundred million people here […]. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* written in 1905 [sic], are exactly the Jewish program for the 20th century. Everything coincides. […] The Jews crush other nationalities and enjoy considerable privileges. […] The Jews took power in Russia in 1917. The entire leadership of the Revolution was made up of Jews, Zionists [sic], Jewish Nazis [re-sic]. The most important thing is the ideology that unites them. […] 95
> The Jews are God's chosen people. What does that mean ? That they are the superior race, that the others are inferior and must serve them! […] With you, as with us, it was the Jews and the Freemasons who made the Revolution. […]
> The global Jewish conspiracy operates on the notion of a "chosen people". […]
> Everything is written in the Bible where Christ appears as a Jewish Nazi. When this ideology was extinct, Marx, another Jewish Nazi, appeared to revive it [123] .

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96 **With the writings and interventions of Emelianov, the apocalyptic vision of the "Judeo-Masonic peril" experienced a rebirth in the most extremist Russian nationalist circles.**

97 **North America, however, remains one of the main host countries for authors conspiracists *into* [124] . One of the far-right "anti-globalization" pamphlets, *Descent Slavery ?,* by the American publisher and essayist Des Griffin, centered on the denunciation of the New World Order , was thus presented in 2005 on a website offering it for sale: "In a book which has been described as "devastating", "magnificent" and "superbly documented" by readers on three continents, Des Griffin goes straight to the international bankers and presents, in great detail based on extensive documentation, the story of their participation in the *Illuminati* plot to create a one-world, totalitarian-style government. » Canadian essayist Henry Makow (born 1949), one of the most prolific contemporary conspiracy authors, continues to assert that the *Protocols* are "the blueprint of the New World Order". He conceives of history as "the product of a long-term occult plan by Kabbalistic bankers (Satanists) to subjugate the human race using war (genocide), revolution and financial collapse as their primary instruments". , from his latest book, *Illuminati. The Cult That Hijacked the Illuminati World* are [125] ". In the presentation made by Henry Makow, on his identified as the "Masonic and Jewish bankers" or their agents, accused [126], THE of being followers of a satanic cult. Titled "Hidden history, Zionism and anti-Semitism", this presentation is written in the third person by its author, for whom "we are undergoing an occult attack":**

> 98 **As bizarre and unbelievable as it may seem, humanity has been colonized by a satanic cult called the *Illuminati.* This cult represents Masonic and Jewish bankers who have usurped a monopoly on government credit, which allows them to charge interest on funds they create out of thin air. Naturally, they want to protect this privilege by translating it into a political and cultural monopoly. This takes the form of a totalitarian world government dedicated to Lucifer, who represents their defiance of God. So the people who control our purse strings are conspiring against us. To distract and control us, they have used a vast occult network (Freemasonry) to infiltrate most organizations, particularly the government, intelligence agencies, the education system and the mass media. Humanity is reimagined to serve the *Illuminati.* They undermine institutions like marriage and religion, and promote depravity, dysfunction, corruption and division. They have orchestrated two world wars and are planning a third. Henry Makow describes this conspiracy and shows how human history unfolds according to the plans of *Illuminati.***

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Postulating the Jewish character of Freemasonry, Makow published on his site an article by the delusional conspiracy theorist Fritz Springmeier (born 1955), "The Jewish Character of the Early Masonic Lodge" (October 20, 2009), in which, in addition to Johann Christian Ehrmann (1816) and Eduard Emil Eckert, the anti-Satanist Springmeier cites, among the pioneers of the denunciation in Germany of the "power of the Jews in the lodges", the German Jesuit Georg Michael Pachtler (1825-1889). Springmeier has a reputation in Christian-nationalist and American supremacist circles as an "Illuminati expert . " In an interview with Wayne Morris, conducted in the mid-1990s, he presented his "research" program on the *Illuminati,* who according to him "run a secret world government": 99

> The *Illuminati* are the ones pushing and shaking our world. This is a group of families who have been part of the social elite for generations. I call them "tribes", or "families" *([Bloodlines)].* There are 13 main families. They have been Satanists for generations. This means they have been practicing their secret witchcraft for centuries. They pass on their "religion" from generation to generation. They lead double lives. They have a public life, which everyone can see, and a hidden life which the world does not see. There are very few people who have managed to reveal their secrets. They are masters in the art of secrecy. […] A certain John Robinson presented evidence of the existence of a secret conspiracy against all the governments of Europe. This secret conspiracy was organized by Freemasons, *Illuminati* and secret societies. This happened in 1798. 100
>
> Around the same time, the Bavarian government also raided some Illuminati safehouses *and* seized their secret documents. He sent this file to all European governments, under the title: "The Original Writings of the Order of the *Illuminati".* However, in modern times, very few people have been able to reveal things about the current organization of the *Illuminati.* I set about this task. I want to widely reveal who these people are, what their practices and actions are, absolutely everything! […] These oligarchic families are extremely powerful. When you study history, you realize that these oligarchic families never gave up their power. Some of these families even go back to Nimrod. The Rothschilds have reconstructed their secret genealogy and trace it back to Nimrod. These are the same people who controlled the mystery religions. There was a Supreme Council that oversaw all the mystery religions of antiquity. Their priests were very powerful, and they chose to remain hidden for centuries and act in secret. But they were always there [127] .

For Springmeier, the Great Plot, the globalist super-plot has the secret objective of installing the Antichrist (or Antichrist) in place of the King of the World. The horizon remains apocalyptic. In the foreword to his book translated into French in 2009, *Illuminati. THE cult that has hijacked the world,* Makow summarizes his vision of the "megaplot" as follows: "The 101

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The central bank cartel is the only group with both the motive and the means to take over the world. Made up mainly of Kabbalist Jews and Freemasons, it is the head of the octopus. Zionism, Freemasonry, organized Jewry, imperialism, the Jesuits, the Vatican, intelligence agencies, the media, etc., are among the countless arms of the octopus. » We are informed and warned. We must therefore be extremely vigilant!

Political and cultural transfers of the conspiracy myth

The conspiracy mythology of "secret societies" is today passing from extreme right circles to certain extreme left movements, where it benefits from a welcoming structure: the belief that all the misfortunes of the world are are explained by the criminal actions of the "new masters of the world" or members of the borderless circle of ruling elites, whose hard core would constitute a sort of secret government of planetary extension, organizing the "New World Order". For certain "anti-globalization" polemicists, the "New World Order" would only be a "Jew World Order". The "High Jewish Bank" returns to haunt minds through "social networks". The myth of the "Jews masters of the world" has thus been recycled in the age of globalization. It is around the Manichean opposition between the "Empire" and the "nations" or "peoples" that, since the beginning of the 21st century, most conspiracy pamphlets have been crafted. We recognize there the main constitue
The new demonized entity, "the Empire", replaces the "Judeo-Masonic Dictatorship" or the "Universal Judeo-Masonic Republic" denounced in 1924 by the preface to Doctor Ansonneau's pamphlet *(Les Puissances occultes contre la France),* a " dictatorship" set up by "cosmopolitan high finance" and whose objective was "the enslavement of all peoples". The French polemicist Alain Soral, a former communist who became a nationalist but remained anti-capitalist, outlined his anti-globalization vision in 2011 in *Understanding the Empire,* subtitled "Tomorrow global governance or the revolt of nations? ". There we find all the clichés of the conspiracy literature produced since the beginning of the 1950s: "Articulated around the UN core […], the CFR, the Trilateral commission and the Bilderberg group, but also the IMF […], the WTO […], the OECD, the military-industrial, energy, agri-food and pharmaco-chemical lobbies (served by the WHO), as well as more esoteric clubs such as Skull and Bones and Bohemian Club, which still need add other French relays such as Le Siècle and the Club des Cordelières... All these power networks, working hand in hand for reasons
fighter of the Empire. An Empire working towards the New World Order. " If

the lexical dressing is new, the rhetoric of the denunciation of the great conspiracy is the same as that found in the writings of Mgr Jouin or Urbain Gohier in the 1920s. Soral and his ilk are still offering themselves, as the denouncer of "occult powers" in 1924, "to enlighten the people, by showing them the work of the Secret Societies", which bear new names.

103 **At the same time, numerous Friday sermons in the Muslim world denounce the "Judeo-Masonic plot" fomented by the "imperialist" West against Muslim countries. This plot sometimes takes the form of a satanic "Judeo-Crusader plot" or "Zionist-Crusader plot", postulating the existence of an occult superpower called "world Zionism", whose objective would be to combat Islam and Muslims by all means. Other Muslim "scholars" think, according to a combative Manichaeism, that there is no longer anything between Islam and Judeo-Masonry, the West being led more or less secretly by the Jews, including the Freemasons**

104 **In the "anti-Zionist" style conspiratorial discourse distributed massively, since the 1990s, by Islamist sites on the Internet, we encounter more and more often the denunciation of the "Masonic conspiracy" or "Judeo-Masonic", even that of satanic activities. of the *Illuminati.* Article 22 of the "Charter of Allah", the Charter of the Palestinian Islamist movement Hamas ("Islamic Resistance Movement"), made public on August 18, 1988, provides a striking illustration of this dark [128] vision of the modern history plot:**

, borrowed from Western mythology of the great

105
> **Enemies have long plotted, skillfully and precisely, to achieve their goals. […] With their money, they took control of the media around the world: the press, publishing houses, radio stations, etc. With their money, they sparked revolutions across the world in order to serve their interests and achieve**
>
> **their objectives. They were behind the French Revolution, the Communist Revolution and all the revolutions we have heard about. With their money, they created secret organizations around the world to sabotage societies and serve Zionist interests. These organizations are: Freemasons, Rotary Club, Lions Club, B'nai B'rith, etc. […] They were behind the First World War when they abolished the Islamic Caliphate, making financial gains and controlling resources. They obtained the Balfour Declaration, created the League of Nations to rule the world. They were behind the Second World War, from which they made huge profits by speculating on war materials, and paved the way for the creation of their state. They were the instigators of the abolition of the League of Nations to replace it with the United Nations and the Security Council in order to govern the world through these two organizations. There is no war in any part of the world of which they are not the instigators.**

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106 We find another unintentionally caricatured illustration of this borrowed conspiracy in the article posted online on April 18, 2004 on the Islamist site “The Voice of the Oppressed”: “Freemasonry: the global Zionist underworld…”. This article presents itself as the summary of a “lesson from Sheikh Mamdouh Al Haribi on the origins, goals and organization of Freemasonry in the world and specifically in the Arab-Muslim world”. The thesis of a global “Zionist-Masonic” conspiracy is clearly stated there, exposed according to the clichés and clichés of Western “anti-illuminist” literature (reference to Weishaupt, Albert Pike, etc.), as it has is a tradition on the far right: the two conspiracy authors cited are Jean Lombard and William Guy Carr. The thesis of the great conspiracy thus proves transferable in Arab-Muslim culture:

107

> Here is a lesson to listen to from Sheikh Mamdouh Al Haribi on the true unspoken goals of Freemasonry in the world, its history and its war against Islam since the beginning of its revelation. […] Today, Satanist or Luciferian groups govern the world: Theosophists, Rosicrucians, Illuminati, high-ranking Freemasons and other sects and clubs with their enormous financial and industrial powers […]. A little-known sect, the order of Skull and Bones, also nicknamed “Brotherhood of Death”, is one of the most powerful in America… and the world. Coming from the order of the Illuminated of Bavaria – Adam Weishaupt –, this sect, whose mother lodge, or “black lodge”, is located at Yale University, “selects” sons of high American Protestant and Jewish society. (WASP). Members are recruited from the largest American universities, and definitively selected during satanic rituals in the mother lodge, […] at Yale, bearing the number 322. The “elected” are then “recruited” by the Council on Foreign Relations […], Bilderberg and the Trilateral, organizations created by the Skull and Bones sect, and all-powerful today. They directly influence t
> Today, more than yesterday, the "heads" of state or government, the bosses of the world's major financial or industrial institutions are directly influenced by the power and POWER of the Skull and Bones, who do not hesitate to destroy or slaughter any individual, institution or country refusing to enter their forced march towards their universal republic... French Freemasonry, and almost all its republican political "brothers", are directly linked to this deadly sect... the form is different, the purpose of the program is identical. It really is the brotherhood of death.

108 On July 18, 2011, on the Egyptian television channel Al-Faraeen, a debate was broadcast on Freemasonry and Judaism which illustrates the state of the anti-Jewish and anti-Masonic impregnation of cultural circles in this large Arab-Arab country. Muslim. At During the debate, the “Egyptian scholar” Omar Mahmoud Mutawa declared: “[The

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Freemasonry] is an international organization that works to restore Jewish domination throughout the world, through short- and long-term conspiracies. » Another “Egyptian scholar”, Abir Abdel Salam Ibrahim, opines in the same direction: “His ultimate goal is to take control of the world and hand it over to the Jews. » Mutawa adds: “With the advent of Islam, [Islam] became the one and only enemy of Freemasonry, because Islam is the one and only enemy of the Jews. The Jews control more or less the entire Western Christian world: its economy, its commerce, its media… They control all the main [sectors of] activity. » The main vector of the myth is still the false European anti-Jew most exported throughout the world: the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* regularly and massively republished in the Muslim world, particularly in the Middle East. In the televised debate of July 18, 2011, Ibrahim specified that the *Protocols* constitute the “Constitution of the Freemasons”, even “the foundation of Freemasonry”. The conspiracy lesson of Christian origin was well learned by these “scholars” of Is But it was turned against the Western/Christian world, supposedly “Judaized” or “Jewish.”

From antimodernism to transpolitical antiglobalism

The myth of occult “Judeo-Masonic” power, or more precisely its shadow, has oriented the anti-globalization imagination towards “conspiracy theory”, which has become a major component of the new globalized popular culture. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the latter has been the subject of a conspiracy permeation, which goes far beyond the specialized public or the circle of addicts to explicit “conspiracy theories”. A vast virtual community of believers, outside of established religions, was formed around the myth of the "secret masters of the world", baptized "Illuminati" (with a Judaized ***Weishaupt*** **for the occasion), of which we find innumerable variants in the new esotero-conspiracy culture whose main vector is the Internet. This is the new repulsive figure of the modern world demonized by the new anti-modernists: that of a “globalization” orchestrated by a predatory financial oligarchy, conspiring against “the people” in invisible networks. In the Gnostic anti-capitalism of our time, the banking system, the incarnation of hyperpower, is fictionalized as a network of criminal secret societies, which remain symbolized by Jewish names: Goldman Sachs and Lehman Brothers have replaced Jacob Schiff and Kuhn, Loeb & Co. The myth of the “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy” has thus been largely de-Christianized, at the same time as it has been exported to non-Western cultures. It nevertheless retained its strong dimension**

apocalyptic and its radically anti-modern aim. Satan and the Antichrist begin thus a new career, on the threshold of the 21st century. From Catholic intransigence to

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Islamic fundamentalism, through the Orthodox and Protestant anti-Satanist visionaries of the great conspiracy, anti-Judeo-Masonism will have constituted a critique as radical as it is fantastical of modernity. Of a modernity not only perceived as decadence, but as the incarnation of Evil.

Notes

[2] See Paul Airiau, *The Church and the Apocalypse from the 19th century to the present day,* Paris, Berg International, 2000; by the same author, *Catholic Anti-Semitism in France in the 19th and 20th Centuries,* Paris, Berg International, 2002.

[3] See Robert Francis Byrnes, *Anti-Semitism in Modern France,* vol. I: *The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair,* New Brunswick (NJ), Rutgers University Press, 1950, p. 304-318; Eugen Weber, *Satan Freemason. The Mystification of Léo Taxil,* Paris, Julliard, 1964; Massimo Introvigne, *Investigation into Satanism. Satanists and anti-Satanists from the 17th century to the present day* (1994), translated from Italian by Philippe Baillet, Paris, Dervy, 1997, p. 143-208; Marie-France James, *Esotericism, occultism, freemasonry and Christianity in the 19th and 20th centuries. Bio-bibliographic explorations,* Paris, Lanore, 2008 [1981], p. 247-252; Thierry Rouault, *Léo Taxil & Satanic Freemasonry. Analysis of a literary mystification,* Rosières-en-Haye, Camion blanc, 2011.

[4] Quoted by Weber, *Satan Freemason, op. cit.,* p. 98-99.

[5] 1867 (2 edition). e

[6] Jean-Philippe Schreiber, "The image of Jews and Judaism in anti-Masonic discourse in the 19th century", in Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci (dir.), Antisémythes. *The image of the Jews between culture and politics (1848-1939),* Paris, Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2005, p. 131-147, here p. 140-143.

[7] Jacob Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939* (1970), translated from English by S. Courtine-Denamy, Paris, Cerf, 1995, p. 299-305.

[8] Daniel Pipes, *Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes and Where It Comes From,* New York, The Free Press, 1997, p. 131-134 ; Chip Berlet, « Protocols to the Left, Protocols to the Right : Conspiracism in American Political Discourse at the Turn of the Second Millenium », in Richard Landes et Steven T. Katz (dir.), *The Paranoid Apocalypse : A Hundred-Year Retrospective on The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* New York et Londres, New York University Press, 2012, p. 186-216, ici p. 188.

[9] Norman Cohn, *History of a Myth. The Jewish "Conspiracy" and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1967), translated from English by Léon Poliakov, Paris, Gallimard, 1967, p. 18, modified French translation.

[10] Jacques-Charles Lemaire, *The French Origins of Anti-Masonism (1744-1797),* Brussels, Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1985, p. 10-33; Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire, *Antimasonism,* Puiseaux, Pardès, 1998, p. 16-20; Pierre-André Taguieff, *The "Illuminated" Fair. Esotericism, conspiracy theory, extremism,* Paris, Mille et une nuits, 2005, p. 13-15, 111-116, 138-140.

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[11] Edinburgh, 1797; 3rd edition, 1798; translated into French in 1799.

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[12] Pierre-André Taguieff, *The Judeophobia of the Moderns. From Enlightenment to Global Jihad,* Paris, Odile Jacob, 2008, p. 179-212.

[13] Bernard Lewis, *Semites and anti-Semites* (1986), translated from English by Jacqueline Carnaud and Jacqueline Lahana, Paris, Fayard, 1987, p. 23.

[14] Quoted by Taguieff, *La Judeophobia des Modernes, op. cit.,* p. 235.

[15] Quoted by Taguieff, *La Judeophobia des Modernes, op. cit.,* p. 535, n. 180.

[16] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 31-36; Pierre-André Taguieff, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Forgeries and uses of a forgery* (1992), new edition, Paris, Berg International/Fayard, 2004, p. 109-113; by the same author, *La Foire aux "Illuminates", op. cit.,* p. 148-150.

[17] Jacques-Charles Lemaire, "The theme of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy at its origins: *New Judaism or Freemasonry revealed* (1815)", *Lumières* (Bordeaux), n° 7, 2006, p. 281-290.

[18] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 45-49; Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939, op. cit.,* p. 250-255; Taguieff, *The Fair of the "Illuminated", op. cit.,* p. 141-144; Taguieff, *The Judeophobia of the Moderns, op. cit.,* p. 329-331.

[19] This sum is summarized in *The Jews, our masters! Documents and new developments on the Jewish question* (Paris, Brussels and Geneva, 1882).

[20] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 49-51; Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939, op. cit.,* p. 255-259; Pierre-André Taguieff, *Preachers of Hate. Crossing planetary Judeophobia,* Paris, One Thousand and One Nights, 2004, p. 714-716; Taguieff, *The Fair of the "Illuminated", op. cit.,* p. 153-156.

[21] Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939, op. cit.,* p. 216-218, 243-249.

[22] Danielle Delmaire, "The anti-Semitism of the newspaper *La Croix du Nord* during the Dreyfus affair (1898-1899)", in Valentin Nikiprowetzky (studies brought together by), *From ancient anti-Judaism to contemporary anti-Semitism,* Lille, Presses universitaire de Lille, 1979, p. 209-245, here p. 215-216.

[23] Byrnes, *Anti-Semitism in Modern France, op. cit.,* p. 128-129; Jeannine Verdès-Leroux, *Financial scandal and Catholic anti-Semitism. The crash of the General Union,* Paris, Le Centurion, 1969, p. 137-138; Stephen Wilson, *Ideology and Experience: Anti-Semitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair,* East Brunswick (NJ) and London, Associated University Presses, 1982, p. 409, 419, 553; Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939, op. cit.,* p. 250-259; Jean-Philippe Schreiber, "The image of Jews and Judaism in anti-Masonic discourse in the 19th century", in Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci (dir.), Antisémythes…, *op. cit.,* p. 131-147, here p. 134-137.

[24] Quoted by Verdès-Leroux, *Financial scandal and Catholic anti-Semitism, op. cit.,* p. 227.

[25] Taguieff, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Forgery and uses of a forgery, op. cit.,* p. 130-131.

[26] Émile Poulat and Jean-Pierre Laurant, *Catholic Antimasonism. The Freemasons of Mgr de Ségur,* Paris, Berg International, 1994; Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire, *Rome and the Freemasons. History of a conflict,* Paris, Berg International, 1996; Michel Jarrige,

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The Church and Freemasonry. History of suspicion and conspiracy, Paris, Jean-Cyrille Godefroy, 2010, p. 23-47.

[27] Jean-Philippe Schreiber, “Satan: the spirit of conspiracy? From theological to political in the encyclical *Humanum Genus* (1884)", in Emmanuelle Danblon and Loïc Nicolas (dir.), *Les Rhétoriques de la conspiracy,* Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2010, p. 171-193.

[28] Marc Angenot, “Conspiratorial thinking. A dialectical and rhetorical history? », in *ibid.,* p. 25-42, here p. 30.

[29] Schreiber, “Satan: the spirit of conspiracy? ", *art. cit.,* p. 170-171.

[30] Aldo A. Mola, “The Anti-Masonic League and its political and cultural influence at the borders of the 19th and 20th centuries”, in Alain Dierkens (ed.), *Les Courants antimaçonniques hier et jour,* Brussels, Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles , 1993, p. 39-55, here p. 41-42.

[31] Pierre Pierrard, *French Jews and Catholics. From Édouard Drumont to Jacob Kaplan 1886-1994* (1970), new edition, Paris, Cerf, 1997, p. 27-28; Airiau, *The Church and the Apocalypse from the 19th century to the present day, op. cit.,* p. 40-42; Taguieff, *The Fair of the “Illuminated”, op. cit.,* p. 165-166.

[32] James, *Esotericism, Occultism, Freemasonry and Christianity, op. cit.,* p. 21, 82.

[33] Jarrige, *The Church and Freemasonry, op. cit.,* p. 66-69.

[34] E. Portalié, “The Anti-Masonic Congress of Trent and the end of a mystification”, *Études,* 33 year, t. 69, September-December 1896, p. 383-398; Jarrige, *The Church and Freemasonry, op. cit.,* p. 74.

[35] Quoted by Pierre Pierrard, *The Christians and the Dreyfus Affair,* Paris, Les Éditions de l'Atelier/Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1998, p. 21.

[36] Michel Jarrige, “ Freemasonry *unmasked,* according to an unpublished collection from the National Library”, *Politica Hermetica,* n° 4, 1990, p. 38-52, here p. 50.

[37] Marc Angenot, “Conspiratorial thinking. A dialectical and rhetorical history? », in Emmanuelle Danblon and Loïc Nicolas (dir.), *Les Rhétoriques de la conspiracy,* Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2010, p. 25-42, here p. 30.

[38] Pierre Sorlin, *“The Cross” and the Jews (1880-1899). Contribution to the history of contemporary anti-Semitism,* Paris, Grasset, 1967, p. 131-183; Wilson, *Ideology and Experience, op. cit.,* p. 409-423.

[39] Danielle Delmaire, “The anti-Semitism of the newspaper *La Croix du Nord* during the Dreyfus affair (1898-1899)”, *art. cit.,* p. 214-218; by the same author, *Anti-Semitism and Catholics in the North during the Dreyfus Affair,* Lille, Presses universitaire de Lille, 1991, p. 94-100.

[40] Taguieff, *La Judeophobia des Modernes, op. cit.,* p. 262-300.

[41] Taguieff, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Forgery and uses of a forgery, op. cit.,* p. 101-109.

[42] Marc Angenot, *The Pamphleteer's Word. Contribution to the typology of modern discourses,* Paris, Payot, 1982, p. 126 *sq. ;* by the same author, “Conspiratorial thinking. A dialectical and rhetorical history? ", *art. cit.,* p. 41.

[43] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 58-59; Cesare G. De Michelis, *Judeophobia in Russia. From* the Book of the "kahal" *to the* Protocols of the Elders of Zion. *With an anthology of texts,* Turin, Bollati Boringhieri, 2001, p. 20-21, 205 ; Taguieff, *Prêcheurs de haine; op. cit.,* p. 711-712.

[44] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 61-63.

[45] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 70; De Michelis, *Judeophobia in Russia, op. cit.,* p. 80; Taguieff, *Preachers of Hate, op. cit.,* p. 716-717.

[46] Delmaire, *Anti-Semitism and Catholics in the North during the Dreyfus Affair, op. cit.,* p. 102.

[47] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 38-44; Taguieff, *The Fair of the "Illuminated", op. cit.,* p. 161-164.

[48] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 38-40, 269-273; Taguieff, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, op. cit.,* p. 421-426.

[49] Verdes-Leroux, *Financial scandal and Catholic anti-Semitism, op. cit.,* p. 137.

[50] The story of "Léon Gimberlé" is a pure legend, peddled by anti-Jewish circles who, like Drumont in *Jewish France,* denounced "the Semite Gambetta", or "Gamberlé", as a "German Jew of origin ".

[51] N° 173, 20-27 May 1920.

[52] Taguieff, *La Judeophobia des Modernes, op. cit.,* p. 614, n. 233.

[53] Cité in Marcus G. Patka, *Austrian Freemasons under National Socialism. Loyalty and Betrayal,* Vienna, Cologne and Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2010, p. 12-13.

[54] *Ibid.,* p. 13.

[55] James, *Esotericism, Occultism, Freemasonry and Christianity in the 19th and 20th Centuries, op. cit.,* p. 100-105.

[56] *Ibid.,* p. 156-158; Jarrige, *The Church and Freemasonry, op. cit.,* p. 197-206.

[57] Émile Poulat, *Integralism and integral Catholicism,* Tournai, Casterman, 1969, p. 280-281.

[58] Quoted in *ibid.,* p. 281.

[59] *Ibid.,* p. 72, n. 15. ; James, *Esotericism, Occultism, Freemasonry and Christianity in the 19th and 20th Centuries, op. cit.,* p. 123.

[60] James, *Esotericism, Occultism, Freemasonry and Christianity in the 19th and 20th Centuries, op. cit.,* p. 50-52.

[61] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit. ;* Taguieff, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, op. cit. ;* by the same author, *Preachers of Hatred, op. cit.,* p. 617-817; by the same author, *The Imagination of the World Conspiracy. Aspects of a myth,* Paris, One Thousand and One Nights, 2006, p. 109-142.

[62] Michael Hagemeister, « The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion :* Between History and Fiction », *New German Critique,* 103, 35 (1), printemps 2008, p. 83-95.

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[63] Michael Hagemeister, « “The Antichrist as an Imminent Political Possibility” : Sergei Nilus and the Apocalyptical Reading of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion »,* in Richard Landes et Steven T. Katz (dir.), *The Paranoid Apocalypse : A Hundred-Year Retrospective on* The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, New York & Londres, New York University Press, 2012, p. 79-91.

[64] Michael Hagemeister, “Who was Serge Nilus? » (1991), translated from German by Martine Pique-Bressoux, *Politica Hermetica,* n° 9, 1995, p. 141-158; Taguieff, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, op. cit.,* p. 40 *square meters ;* by the same author, *Preachers of Hatred, op. cit.,* p. 646 *sq.*

[65] De Michelis, *Judeophobia in Russia, op. cit.,* p. 14, 39, 41, 215.

[66] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 164.

[67] Quoted in *La Revue antimaçonnique,* 1 (8), June 1911, p. 87-88.

[68] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 156-161; Taguieff, *The Judeophobia of the Moderns, op. cit.,* p. 157-161.

[69] This Hebrew word designates “community”. *(Ed.)*

[70] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 160-161.

[71] Cité in Johannes Rogalla von Bieberstein, *The Thesis of the Conspiracy 1776-1945. Philosophers, Freemasons, Jews, Liberals and Socialists as Conspirators against the Social Order,* Berne, Herbert Lang, and Francfort-sur-le-Main, Peter Lang, 1976; 2nd edition, 1978; new revised edition, *The Myth of the Conspiracy,* Wiesbaden, Marix Verlag, 2008, p. 219.

[72] Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939, op. cit.,* p. 289.

[73] Title of the first German translation of the forgery.

[74] *Mein Kampf,* I, chapter XI.

[75] Cohn, *Histoire d'un mythe, op. cit.,* p. 193 ; Rogalla von Bieberstein, *The Thesis of the Conspiracy 1776-1945, op. cit.,* 1978 : p. 221 and 2008 : p. 230 ; Eduard Gugenberger, Franko Petri, Roman Schweidlenka, *World Conspiracy Theories. The New Danger from the Right,* Vienna and Munich, Franz Deuticke Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998, p. 110 ; Taguieff, *La Judéophobie des Modernes, op. cit.,* p. 331.

[76] Quoted by Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939, op. cit.,* p. 302.

[77] Traduction française officielle, Munich, Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1936.

[78] Taguieff, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, op. cit.*

[79] Michael Hagemeister, « Fry, Leslie », in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Handbook of Anti-Semitism. Anti-Jewish Hostility in History and the Present,* vol. 2/1. *Personen AK,* Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2009, p. 266-267.

[80] Quoted by Rousse-Lacordaire, *Antimasonism, op. cit.,* p. 54.

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[83] Version Nilus, *Protocoles…,* chap. 15.

[84] Édouard Drumont, *Jewish France,* t. II, book IV: “Crémieux and the Universal Israelite Alliance”.

[85] Cohn, *History of a Myth, op. cit.,* p. 148; Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939, op. cit.,* p. 286; Taguieff, *Preachers of Hate, op. cit.,* p. 637-639.

[86] Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper* Der Stürmer (1983), 2 edition$^{\text{It is}}$ augmented, New York, Cooper Square Press, 2001, p. 167-168.

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[88] Paul Collins, *God’s New Man : The Election of Benedict XVI and the Legacy of John Paul II,* Londres et New York, Continuum, 2005, p. 153.

[89] Dominique Rémy, *The Laws of Vichy,* Paris, Romillat, 1992, p. 68-71.

[90] Quoted in Antoine Compagnon, *Le Cas Bernard Faÿ. From the Collège de France to national indignity,* Paris, Gallimard, 2009, p. 102.

[91] Quoted in *ibid.,* p. 103.

[92] Jean Mamy known as Paul Riche (1902-1949), anti-Jewish and anti-Mason journalist, tireless denouncer of the "synarchic plot", collaborator of *L'Appel* and *Au Pilori,* but also of the Gestapo.

[93] Lucien Sabah, *A political police of Vichy: the Service of Secret Societies,* Paris, Klincksieck, 1996, p. 346.

[94] Robert O. Paxton, *La France de Vichy 1940-1944* (1972), translated from English by C. Bertrand, new edition revised and updated by the author, Paris, Seuil, 1997, p. 212-229.

[95] Limore Yagil, *“The New Man” and the National Revolution of Vichy (1940-1944),* Villeneuve-d'Ascq, Presses universitaire du Septentrion, 1997, p. 255-274.

[96] Yves Durand, “1940: Vichy plays Germany”, *L’Histoire,* n° 31, February 1981, p. 121-128; included in the collective *Studies on France from 1939 to the present day,* Paris, Seuil, coll. “History Points”, 1985, p. 77-95, here p. 85.

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[103] Quoted in Rémy, *Les Lois de Vichy, op. cit.,* p. 135.

[104] *Ibid.,* p. 136.

[105] *Ibid.,* p. 135-136.

[106] Joly, *Xavier Vallat, op. cit.,* p. 206.

[107] Sabah, *A Vichy Political Police, op. cit.,* p. 182-186; Michaël Lenoire, “Henry Coston (Henri Coston, dit) and Jacques Ploncard d’Assac (Jacques Ploncard, dit)”, in Pierre-André Taguieff (dir.), *L’Antisémitisme de plume 1940-1944. Studies and documents,* Paris, Berg International, 1999, p. 370-384, here p. 375-379; Combes, *Freemasonry under the Occupation, op. cit.,* p. 141-144.

[108] Taguieff, *Preachers of Hatred, op. cit.,* p. 798.

[109] Jacques Bordiot, *A hidden hand directs…,* Paris, 1974, p. 7.

[110] Georges Pompidou has just been appointed Prime Minister by General de Gaulle, replacing Michel Debré.

[111] Reissued in 1992.

[112] 2nd edition, 1976.

[113] Taguieff, *The Fair of the “Illuminated”, op. cit.,* p. 117-126; by the same author, *The Imagination of the World Conspiracy, op. cit.,* p. 15-19, 74-79.

[114] *Satan, prince of this world,* posthumous work published in 1966.

[115] Reissued in 2006.

[116] Volume 1 was translated into French in 1984 (Cadillac, Éditions Saint-Remi); reissued in 2008.

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[118] Cité in Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession : Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad,* New York, Random House, 2010, p. 144-145.

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[121] Cité in Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession, op. cit.,* p. 145.

[122] Vadim Rossman, *Russian Intellectual Antisemitism in the Post-Communist Era,* Lincoln (NE), University of Nebraska Press, 2002, p. 176, 193.

[123] Emelianov, interview, 1990, cited *in* Serge Moati and Jean-Claude Raspiengeas, *La Haine antisémite,* Paris, Flammarion, 1991, p. 126-127.

[124] Berlet, « Protocols to the Left, Protocols to the Right », *art. cit.*

[125] Henry Makow, “The Jewish conspiracy – the last moment of lucidity”, July 5, 2012.

[126] Translated into French by D. Marcelou, 2009; Silas Green (United States), 2012.

[127] Quoted in Taguieff, *La Foire aux “Illuminates”, op. cit.,* p. 354-356.

[128] Taguieff, *The Imagination of the World Conspiracy, op. cit.,* p. 35-37.

Résumé

English The origins and metamorphosis of the judeo-freemasonry complot Modern political myths that claim the highest and longest lasting popularity are those which originate from different symbolic sources and various ideological frameworks of which they retain traces, thus fulfilling multiple social demands and requirements. As such they prove themselves “useful” towards several social classes and political streams. They can “last” on the sole condition that they are regularly “modified”. This was the case with the myth of the “Judeo-Freemasonry Complot” which called for the creation of a historical figure, the “Judeo-Freemasonry”, to whom myth believers attributed a secret power and an incredible capacity to activate historical events which was interpreted as

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directing the course of history.

The idea of a "Judeo-Freemasonry Complot" had its origins in the "Century of Progress on the basis of a false anti-Jewish prototype, the "Letter of Simonini" that Abbot Barruel claimed to have received in August 1806.

This letter is at the center of a counter-story of liberation which was invented by Catholic polemicists. A huge tale of manipulation, alienation and subjugation, similar to the discourse on the origins of Evil in History, was created around the "Judeo-Freemasonry Complot".

The article analyzes the main stages of the creation, adaptation and metamorphosis of this anti-Jewish myth that while presenting its double face – theological-religious and political – also brings back the belief in the power of the devil throughout history. This can be found thriving in the 20th century in the midst of anti-Jewish propaganda having as its vector *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.*

The article also shows that in later periods of history, this modern demonologist myth fed the imagination required to create both the anti-globalization and Islamist vision of the world.

Plan

From the "Jewish conspiracy" to the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy"

The emergence of the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy": the "letter from Simonini" to Barruel

Doctrinal development: apocalypticism and Satanism

Relations between Jews and Freemasons seen by their common enemies

The Church between anti-Masonic propaganda and anti-Jewish mobilization

Far-right circles and "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy"

"Wise Men of Zion" and Freemasons: the lesson of the Protocols

Political uses of myth in the 1930s

Anti-Judeo-Masonism institutionalized under the Occupation

Contemporary avatars of the anti-Judeo-Masonic myth: currents of
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Political and cultural transfers of the conspiracy myth

From antimodernism to transpolitical antiglobalism

Author

Pierre-André Taguieff

Philosopher, political scientist, historian of ideas, Pierre-André Taguieff is director of research at the CNRS. He has published more than thirty works, including recently *La Nouvelle Propaganda antijuive. From the al-Dura symbol to the rumors of Gaza,* Paris, PUF, 2010; *Israel and the Jewish Question,* Saint-Victor-de-Mor, Les Provinciales, 2011; *Wagner against the Jews. At the origins of modern cultural anti-Semitism,* Paris, Berg International, 2012; *The New National Populism,* Paris, CNRS-Éditions, 2012; "Reflections on conspiracy thinking", *Raison publique,* n° 16, June 2012, p. 93-113; *The Sketch of a genealogy of progressivism,* ebook, Paris, TAK, October 2012.
This study is the revised and expanded version of the article "Judeo-Masonic Conspiracy" from the *Historical and Critical Dictionary of Racism,* published under the direction of P.-A. Taguieff, to be published by Presses universitaire de France (2013).

Posted online on Cairn.info on 02/28/2017

https://doi.org/10.3917/rhsho.198.0023

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To cite this article

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The Juits and the Protocols

The Jews fight the “ Protocols ” , first by suppression , then by negation . This double attitude brings us serious presumptions concerning the authenticity of this famous document ; and, in any case, undeniable certainties of its veracity. Israel is caught in its own net.

The Jewish Suppression of the Protocols

Let us recall in a word that in Russia, Nilus ' edition in 1917 was burned in a train station, and that the Jew Kerensky, having come to power, had all copies of the "Protocols " searched for and destroyed in Petrograd and Moscow (1). In Poland, the same game was tried , and the translator had to keep his name quiet to save his life. Similar attempts took place in Germany and England

(2) . Finally, the following article from our New York correspondent

is the irrefutable confirmation of the first Jewish tactic opposed to the “ Protocols ”.

The '* Protocols ' of the Elders of Zion and Independence American

The famous “ Protocols ” of the Elders of Zion were brought to America by a Russian officer , Captain A ..., towards the end

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(h Mer Jouin, The “ Protocols ” of the Elders of Sion, p. 4; Paris, Emile- laul, 100, faubourg Saint-Honoré.

(2) More powerful in England than in other countries, the Jews tried to obtain from the public authorities the suppression of the “ Protocols ”. Cf. La Vieille France, n° 170, May 6 , 1920, p. 20.

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of 1917. The copy was one of the volumes of the 1917 edition

that Kerensky had burned at the Moscow station .

M. S. of New York, to whom the book was given, had it translated

from Russian into English by his secretary , M '* B.,, and in order to see what the reaction would be produced on a racial American for whom the Jewish question did not exist, he had the translation given to an American officer , Captain H ..., who served during the war in the " Military Intelligence ". (Secret Service, equivalent to the 2nd Bureau).

It seems that reading this document had an immediate effect on this man who found it urgent to submit it to his leaders .

He therefore had a few copies copied , two of which were given , one to the War Office , and the other to the State Department in Washington , by Mr. H. Carpenter .

At the same time, this Mr. Carpenter who still had a copy had shown it to some of his friends; among others to a lawyer from Washington, Mr. R. B... The latter having had it in his hands for a very short time , but having understood the importance of the Zionist plan , used his dictaphone and It had acquired most of the

first eight “ Protocols ” in this way .

In January 1919 , this lawyer showed these fragments to friends , and everyone set about obtaining the complete copy of the

“ Protocols ” of Nilus 's book and finding Captain IL . who had received them . Strangely enough , this officer had been displaced, and at the Ministry of War , his address was unknown , or so it was claimed.

Attempts made with an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs resulted in learning of the . interested that " the document in question was considered Bolshevist propaganda ", written by a few intelligent drunkards , at the bottom of a cellar no doubt, but that because of the seditious nature of this writing, it was found necessary to take

all measures to prevent it to be widespread (sic). Indeed , at this Ministry, we kept the copy in a safe.

; At the War Ministry , the same disappointment. An officer, Captain J... had had the document in his hands, and during his reading, he had seen it peremptorily taken away " by order " , and, whatever effort he made to have

it again , it was in vain.

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Faced with these bizarre activities , it goes without saying that the research only became more active and more obstinate .

Meanwhile , the Overman Committee of the Senate had begun its investigation into Bolshevism , and Doctor Simons , a Methodist minister , arriving from Russia, had during his testimony spoken of the Jews and the “ Protocols ” of the Elders of Zion .

Copies of the document similar to those found at the Ministries

of War and Foreign Affairs , as well as the Fragments of the first eight " Protocols " had been given to the Senators , members of the Committee , but Captain H ... who was making serious research on this subject, was not summoned . However, there is reason to believe that copies were provided by Mr. Boris Brasol , who himself had obtained his copy from Captain H ... It was also this translation that he used for the edition of the " Protocols ", arranged by It was made at Small and Maynard of Boston.

Finally, the small group of those interested in the affair, helped

by a fairly well -known writer , Mr. Jérôme Landfield, who had succeeded in finding Captain H..., managed to establish direct contact with him. We then realized that this Captain H... was convinced that this document came from the Jews or the Bolshevists and unmasked a diabolical plan in progress , and that it was urgent to put it before the eyes of the American people .

Listing the people he and others approached to obtain the means to have these “ Protocols ” published would be long and interesting . !! We must hope that Mr. H... will do it himself one day. This will clearly highlight the so-called independence of the Americans. Senators like Mr. Henri Cabot-Lodge, King of Utah, Chamberlain, Borah, Thomas of Colorado, etc., read the “ Protocols ”, but did not dare to speak about them .

Financiers who will be discussed later promised ... then did not dare to keep ... Professors , like Dr. Nicholas M. Butler , encouraged Mr. H... as much as possible , but achieved nothing .

The American Defense Society , however, also convinced that the plan of the Elders of Zion should be known to the American public , made efforts which ultimately, thanks to the intervention of some members of the University club and some Wall Street financiers , succeeded . to the edition of the “ Protocols ” of Small and Maynard.

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As for the printers and publishing houses to which Mr. H... addressed himself , the number is legion : Scribner and Dutton are on the list; the New York Herald and the New York Times too... In this circle, at the beginning, everyone said they were independent, not afraid of anything, etc. Some doubted the authenticity of the document, but went so far as to say that if a well - known Jew agreed to write the preface (innocently !...), they would publish the work. In this case, the names of Otto Kahn, the man of multiple nationalities , or of Julius Kahn, congressman from California, or of Rabbi Simon, of Washington, were mentioned . In the end , everyone gave way, and we never got any further ahead.

There were some rather interesting episodes in the meantime . That of the Public Ledger, for example. On October 26 and 27 , 1919, this Philadelphia newspaper published what it called the Red Bible of the Soviets. This Red Bible was nothing other than the “ Protocols ” cooked up by Carl Ackermann, a journalist who, among other lies, claimed to have the document from a well - known diplomat , above all suspicion , who himself had received it from a Russian officer who had removed it from the Soviet secret archives ; and Carl Ackermann added that the diplomat was ready to swear to the truth of this assertion . But here is exactly what had happened : Mr. H ... had been put in contact with James Gerard, former ambassador of the United States in Berlin, to whom he had given a copy of the “ Protocols ”.

He is the diplomat in question, known, yes, but above all suspicion , no .

Gerard therefore had made many promises of help to Mr. H... and had found nothing better than to communicate the document to Carl Ackermann of the New York Times newspaper and the Philadelphia Public Ledger.

The latter was quick to disfigure the document and publish it in the form we know . When, some time later , he was put against the wall by Mr. H..., Carl Ackermann, in confessing his reprehensible conduct , said that James Gerard had advised him to speak to Mr. H. , before publishing the “ Protocols ” like “ Red Bible ”, but that he had ignored this advice.

In any case , Gerard was not in a hurry to tell Mr. H ... that he had betrayed his trust by having a manuscript which had been lent to him on a purely confidential basis .

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The Public Ledger , having been attacked for publishing a such fraud, ceased his articles. The ludicrous note in this case was given in a letter from the editor of the Ledger, claiming as an excuse that Carl Ackermann assured him that he had acted in good faith. (Letter from Mr. Spurgeon).

What influence (s) did Carl Ackermann and Jams Gerard obey ? We can easily guess this from those who were so angry at suppressing the publication of the “ Protocols ” as they are.

What is remarkable in this circumstance is that not a newspaper , not a voice in the American Press , all in the hands of the Jews , made the slightest protest against the action of the Public Ledger . The real fake did not raise any protest, and the contrast is all the more striking since today we see the entire American press rising en masse when the “ Protocols ” are published in all their integrity . So they find it 's a fake.

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It is good to note in passing that this Carl Ackermann in good faith, repeated this same experience of the publication of the

“ Protocols in the Red Bible ” in the English newspaper in Japan, the Japan Advertiser. The response to this new crime was the publication of the “Protocols ” by a Russian company , in order to refute the lies of Carl Ackermann.

The second episode does n't lack flavor either . At the beginning of 1920, a writer, Mr. William Hard, came to Mr. H... and asked him to let him read the “ Protocols ” , which was granted . He came twice and took many notes on the document . He also discussed the subject with Mr. H... who then did not hear any more about it for several weeks. Finally, one fine day, William Hard sent a telegram from Washington to Mr. H... telling him that he could in no way share his views on the " Protocols ", etc., et...

Indeed , William Hard set out his views in an article published in the Metropolitan of New York in June 1920 ; The article is entitled : " The Great Jewish Plot " , and it ridicules the idea of a Jewish plan

as expressed in the " Protocols " . Moreover , we could not expect ; NG better of a writer sufficiently in the clutches of the Jews to sing

their praises in

their monthly newspaper the Maccabean , and who wrote " Israel ".

- However, the “ Protocols ” were beginning to be reorganized it

in the USA. We talked about it in many conferences.

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A pastor from Seattle had obtained a translation from Siberia and was so struck by the importance of the contents of this document that he went to Washington, finding it necessary that the head of state, Mr. Wilson, should become acquainted with it . . He also managed to show them to him and read them with him during the month of August 1919. If we are to believe the writer mentioned above , Mr. Jérôme Landfield, who had an interview with this pastor, Mr. Wilson would have been stunned upon reading the “ Protocols ” and would have exclaimed : “ Now I understand what Louis Brandeis has about me and how he deceived me ! ” »

Should we establish a connection between this awakening of Mr. Wilson and the sudden illness so strange which struck him down as soon as in a speech during his trip to the United States (September 1919), he dared to speak in a tone which could n't please the gang Brandeis , Baruch, Schiff, Marshall, Strauss and C"* ?

The “ Protocols ” speak so clearly of the fate of those who are not docile .... (1).

Would Woodrow WllSOIl, Paul Deschanel be examples? Other

manuscripts of the “ Protocols ” arrived from Siberia .

This is how the one which appears in the photograph on the first page of the Becwith edition , recently published in the United States, was brought by a Russian to Mr. Jérôme Landfield, in the spring of 1919. This was at the time when this writer still enjoyed the confidence of the Russians , a little before he published in the journal The Review his article entitled : “ Lenins lying Legions , October 1919) ; before he was called to order by a stern letter from Mortimer Schiff (son of Jacob), to which he had to respond by making honorable amends ; before he had passed entirely into the service of the contemptible Boris Bachmétieff, himself sold to Schiff; before finally the Jews , to show that they had subjugated him and now had him completely in their hands, forced him to appear at the synagogue on Fifth Avenue to force him to say in front of a thousand of their fellows that the Bolsheviks were not , Jews (2).

However, it is fair to add that, even after this, Mr. Jérôme Landfield lent his assistance to Mr. H... by retranslating the

(1) M#" JouiN, “ Protocols ”, p. 96, 97 and 102.

(2) See the New York Times of January 19 , 1920.

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“ Protocols ” of this manuscript brought from Siberia. Thanks to his fortunate pen , the document reworked by him as it is now published in the " Becwith edition " is much superior to those published in England and Boston .

Moreover, it is this same translation that was purchased by the Putnam house -and was to be used for their edition.

Going back a little , it is interesting to follow in the United States the efforts made on both sides to achieve a common goal : the publication of the “ Protocols ” .

On the one hand, we see the prolonged and almost gigantic effort of a single man , Mr. H... He is an American, a real one, and it seems that the Americans who wanted to see the " Protocols " published in their country naturally had to address him and support his efforts . By a strange quirk, however , we witness a completely different spectacle . It is that of seeing a group of American financiers , knowing full well that Mr. H., an American like them and a proven patriot , is seeking to publish the “ Protocols ” for

a patriotic purpose , choosing for this work a foreigner who said he was in turn Russian , Ukrainian, Polish. Why did these Americans ignore Mr. H ... and choose Mr. Brasol ? Only one explanation seems plausible . Had these Americans calculated that by having the work done by a foreigner who, for a certain time , had adorned himself with the epithet “ monarchist ”, would be creating a way out in the event of forced retirement ? A rather singular maneuver would seem to prove this : it was the approach taken by a member of this financial group , Mr. G..., near Mr. H... during the spring of 1920, to request certain documents from him . and offer him financial support if he agreed to join his work to that of Mr. Brasol, whose edition at that time was already being prepared in Boston , by Small and Maynard .

Did we want to neutralize the only truly American effort that faced all the difficulties in the United States ? It is Mr. G who

has the answer to the enigma.

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The fact remains that he was refused , Mr. H... essentially wanting his enterprise, if it was successful, to be an American idea in every way , made by Americans , for Americans .

After months and months of disappointments , rebuffs , refusals of all kinds , the day finally appeared when Mr. H ... glimpsed the

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* possibility of carrying out one 's patriotic work . He chose people as publishers who , unfortunately, were not , but who seemed trustworthy to him . It was the house of Wilder and Buell, 225 Fifth Avenue, N, Y. Everything seemed to be going normally, when this little " firm " saw the rug pulled out from under

them in the following way : They had undertaken and carried out for several months the publicity of the Central Relief Committee for Russia (an affair which , in due time , will cause some sensation). Kerensky 's ambassador to Washington, Boris Bashmetieff, slave of Jacob Schiff, was president , while Princess Cantacuzene , whose husband is in Bachmetieff 's pay (1), was its director . However, as soon as the latter became aware of the fact that Wilder and Buell were going to publish the " Protocols ", she immediately informed

them that she saw the need to break all relations with their house and to cancel the contracts that the Committee had with them. This resulted in a loss of around $ 250 per week for these people ... Two other contracts were also terminated with them in a similar manner .

- In view of these difficulties and other obstacles created by the lack of money, the work, already well advanced, since the typographical placards were completely done, was stopped.

Those devoted to the cause began to despair again . It was at this time that the edition of Small and Maynard, of Boston, appeared .

Finally , in September , quite by chance , Major George H. Putnam , returning from England where he had followed the debates caused by the

appearance of the " Protocols " and the book " The cause of the World unrest) came to find Mr. H... and offered to publish his translation of the

“ Protocols ” which was to be a counterpart to his edition of the book “ The cause of the World unrest ” which he had undertaken to launch in the United States.

Printer, Mr. E..., who had done the work for Vilder and Buell, but who had not been paid, sold the whole to Mr. Putnam through Mr. H ..., and we learned with joy that at last

the “ Protocols ” were going to be published by Americans . But unfortunately ! the Americans, independent when they are or when they were among themselves, have no longer been so since their country

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(1 See the New York Tribune of October 27 , 1920,

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has passed into the hands of the Jews , and Major Putnam of the great old American publishing house Putnam has just noticed it .

On October 1, 1920, the book “ The cause of the World unrest ” appeared , edited by Putnam, with the announcement of the immediate publication of the “ Protocels ” of the Elders of Zion ; (it is appropriate here to note that the newspapers and magazines of New York unanimously refused to insert this announcement). In fact, on this date of October 1 , all that remained , so to speak , was to bind the volumes. We can therefore imagine the joy of Mr. H... and his friends who were going to see their three years of incessant efforts crowned with success.

But what it will be difficult to imagine is the disappointment of the unfortunate Mr. H ..., when he suddenly received a letter from the Major . G. Putnam informing him that the Jews had exerted such pressure on him that he was obliged to renounce the publication of the " Protocols " and that he would probably even be forced to suspend the sale of the book " The cause of the World unrest ".

And this is what happened to an American , a veteran of the civil war , to Major George H. Putnam who , all his life lived and sincerely believed in the INDEPENDENCE OF THE AMERICANS AND THE UNITED STATES !

What will now be the fate of this “ Becwith ” edition which has just been published ? It is a pleasure to recognize that the text, the photographs, everything in short is due to the effort of the valiant Mr. H ..., since they are the same proofs, prepared by the printer E..., who worked for Wilder and Buell.

There are still some Americans who believe that as soon as their compatriots realize that their independence and their country have been taken from them , they will use all means to win them back. May they not be disappointed !

However, we cannot fail to note that the United States only escaped the domination of the British Empire to fall under the yoke of the Zionist Empire ; and as today these two empires are one , because who says English says Jew, then the Americans fell from Charybdis to Scylla .

And what do we do with Independence ?

We can judge by the letter of explanations and excuses that poor Major Putnam was obliged to send to his masters .

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and persecutors and which they reproduced in their Jewish Guardian of January 7 , 1921.

Will they also drag him to the Fifth Avenue synagogue to ask for forgiveness ?

After the writer Jérôme Landfield, why not the publisher Major G. Putnam ?

The “ Protocols ”, like Weisshaupt in his Statutes of the Illuminated, clearly say in the passages where the press is discussed that the Jews must become masters of writers and publishers , taking care to add that anyone who wants to resist is stifled . It's true.

After all, the Jews would be wrong to be embarrassed, they buy slaves so cheap !

America definitely needs a second Mrs. Beecher Stowe to write " Uncle Sam 's Cabin " and produce a new effort by which white and black Americans would unite in order to deliver themselves together from the Semitic invader , the real corruptor who enslaved them .

Only then will they regain their Independence . May it be soon !

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This history of the edition of the “ Protocols ” in the United States proves the importance that the Jews attached to their suppression. In truth, if this document did not enjoy any authenticity and did not stand out for its veracity, nothing would explain such tenacious perseverance , such costly corruption and the continuation of such humiliating retractions . The same conclusion ends the introduction to the Italian edition of the

“ Protocols ”, due to the sustained efforts of the excellent review “ Faith and Reason ” (1) :

Any honest and intelligent reader of the “ Protocols ”, writes the author of this introduction, will be struck by the application already begun, exact and in certain points pushed to the detail of many of the features of the program contained therein . Without doubt, we can always say that with persevering , intelligent study of Jewish declarations and tendencies , expressed more and more clearly since the

(1) Fede e Ragione, March 27 , 1921. This weekly review , the reading of which will be most useful to those who believe in the Judeo-Masonic peril , is published in Rome, 437, Corso Umberto.

French Revolution to the present day, we could have succeeded in drawing this subjective summary . Scholars of genius like Krasinsky, in his Non- Divine Comedy , Benson, in his Master of the World have given the public a brilliant intuition of the world tragedy which has reached a decisive period today . But, all things considered, the present case is different. The

“ Protocols ” offer a terribly linked series of details impossible to predict so clearly from the beginning of our century, and which present themselves , are verified today, one next to the other, and precisely like the “ Protocols” » predicted it . And it is truly strange to claim that in 1901 , there existed an unknown genius , a genius so great and so unknown who was capable of predicting one by one the cannon shots and the revolver shots that Israel fires today at the world of goim.

In fact, that would be

absurd. There is better : the reader is struck by a very strange mixture for our European mentality of the most subtle, most Mephistophelian realism , in the art of weaving the large net , and the most frenzied fantasy in the Weltan schauuny , the conception of the world, That. it is Jewish, inimitably Jewish, There, we find the entire Jew : the Jew who invented the bill of exchange, and the one who dreamed of the millennium of the messianic kingdom . Cunning like an old fox, nervous like a young monkey, the ghetto son leaves an indelible mark wherever he goes . The first of these two stigmata allowed him to continue for two thousand years the underground work which made the pariah of old the master of the world ; the second stigma will not allow him to resist for long the nervous shock of the trionyph finally obtained . El ! well, the " Protocols ", from one end to

the other, proclaim this infallible sign of their authentic Jewish origin , at least in their substance. They show us the whole of Israelite perfidy combined with the supreme mastery that a thousand years of business experience gave to Shylock , the satanic spiral widens and rises in an unforeseen way (but logical for this Semitic brain) in a fantastic girandole which, through multicolored rays , shows us the enchantment of a Solomonic empire , with a prophet king , a sort of mahdi, surrounded by sheikhs who govern the world subject to Israel.

This explains the crisis of fury in the synagogue and the ghetto at the publication of the " Protocols ", a fury proportional to the endemic neurasthenia of this people, a fury which led them to demand, in the middle of the British Parliament , the suppression of this book. The Jews hoped that Lloyd George and Balfour would push obedience that far.

While the Reinachs attempt to confuse the public by asserting the falsity and absurdity of the " Protocols , " Israel is being caught red - handed in its desperate efforts to make this ... absurdity disappear .

He had, in fact, recognized his own ideas , his own style in the document published by Nilus.

We will therefore say , to conclude, that, whatever the real origin ,

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however obscure the adventures that the document has gone through , it is no less authentic in its substance , and it reflects a program which is rapidly being realized through global upheaval .

It is a duty to make known the terrible danger, thus strongly presented and described , which threatens us. Israel wants to subjugate and exploit the whole world , but the whole world will stand in its supreme defense . The fate that was predicted to the Arab Ishmael is now that which awaits his Talmudic parent : “ His hand will be lifted up against all, and the hands of all will be lifted up against him .” Today, it is his hand that grips us , that grabs us by the throat, a well- deserved punishment of a world that has denied its millennia-old Christian civilization ; but it is not said that today 's victim, in a last effort , will not also raise his hand to render the age -old enemy definitively harmless . He wrote his own sentence in the Mosaic law . Without hatred, without bias , we invoke the great deliverance of the Christian world .

The Jewish Negation of the Authenticity of the ** Protocolà

The suppression of the “ Protocols ” having failed , the Jews denied their authenticity . A negation, even if it is a lie , is always easy. The Jewish press of all countries called out the forger , without providing the slightest proof of this assertion (1). L'Univers israelite

(December 31, 1920, p. 392) attacks our French edition of the " Protocols " in the name of the Sacred Union , and goes so far as to threaten, " Thus, men of the Church," writes the author, under the pseudonym of Judæus, recom - spread propaganda of hatred and defamation . It's good, and we are at peace. The truth will be

stronger , and if the Church once again emerges from the battle discredited , it will be too bad for it .”

In the same sense, the Jewish Tribune of February 25 , 1921 attributed the law of Separation of Church and State to the attitude of the clergy and to the subject of the Dreyfus affair . According to the Jewish Universe , the position we have taken with regard to the “ Protocols ” will earn us a new anticlerical law . Very good; but it could not be stated more explicitly that such laws are the work of the Jews who claim “ sacred union ” for themselves alone , to the exclusion of the Goïm ; Jews who have , in all countries , Grunbaum Ballins at their service . Also

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(1) We note in the World Jewish Movement the main negations of Israeli newspapers , particularly in France ; it would be pointless to repeat it here .

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can we affirm, with the “ Protocols ”, that Israel is indeed the

Counter-Church.

In his turn, Brother Morcombe , one of the most prominent

Masonic writers in the United States, believes, like the Swiss Alpiñna , that the “ Protocols ” are a fantastic story launched by the ultramontane press (! American Masonry is sectarianly anti - papist When Mr. Ch . Johnston wrote the sensational article on Caillaux which we reproduced in the January 1920 issue of the Revue Internationale des Societes Secrètes , Brother Morcombe accused the Jesuits to be the instigators. Mr. Ch. Johnston refuted the accusation while admitting that he had used an anti -Masonic work written by an ecclesiastic to better confuse the Brother. Morcombe, who attacked our Review in 1913, we asked Mr. Ch . . Johnston the name of this ecclesiastic and the title of the work He told us that it was The Veil Lifted by Abbé Lefranc . Who knows if the Swiss and American masons did not find the “ Protocols ” in the ultramontane press prior to the French Revolution ?

In any case, it is certain that they are not the work of modern electricalism .

This is why intelligent Jews are content to deny the authenticity of the “ Protocols ”. This is the conclusion of an article by Mr. Salomon Reinach in the Revue critique d'histoire et de lettres, reproduced by l'Univers israelite (2). The same is true of the Address of the

American Jewish Committee about which we read in the Dearborn Independent (3 : -

The “ Response ” signed by the Jews themselves, list of signatures which shows, as a panorama would have done , the close solidarity and energetic esprit de corps of the Jewish race in this country does not contain a single fact which is likely to shed any light on the question. In this , the Jewish “ Response ” almost amounts to an admission of total capitulation . But , alongside his helplessness , we notice an absolute lack of frankness . She refuses to face the question , in order not to address any of the grievances alleged, either in the “ Protocols ” or

(1) F,*, Moncombe : Trestle Board, January 1921, p. 32, (2)

Critical review of history and literature , April 1, 1921, p. 131, - Univers Israelite,

April 1, 1921, p. 701.

(3) Dearborn Independent, 29 janvier 1921, p. 8.

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a lesson in our series of articles. It slips away, slips away whenever a coneret subject is involved , or else it evaporates in a cloud of negations . However, if an assertion is false , it is possible to prove its falsity , especially when it concerns things that we encounter in daily life .

The embarrassment of the Jews is so great that denial is followed by lies. The following paragraph is taken from the

Jewish Tribune , n° 65, p. 10 :

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The forgery of the cipher of the “ Protocols ” of the Elders of Zion. The Judische Presszentrale Zurich received from one of the members of the Zuricher Museum gesellschaft belonging to academic circles , a communication from which we quote the

following lines : " The author of the pamphlet The Jewish Peril declares that his pamphlet is the " exact production of the first edition which

appeared in 1905. For the scope of the brochure , it indicates that the original from 1905 was acquired in 1906 by the British Muscum and registered under the number 3296 ot 17. (The number is 3926 d 17).

» Being convinced that at least the prophetic passages of the pani~ phlet had been introduced there after 1905, I asked a Christian scholar , living in London and whose honesty is indisputable, but whom Tantisemitisine did not touch, to find the book in question and tell me how much a copy would cost . The result exceeded my expectations . The British Museum does

not have this book. The author of the pamphlet had the impudence to counterfeit the museum 's figure assuming that no one would bother to investigate this subject . As proof, I attach the original Museum paper with the inscription : “ Cannot be found from particulary (sic) given ”.

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Perhaps more concerned with the truth than the Jews " belonging to academic circles " , we also commissioned a Christian scholar to verify the edition of the " Ptotocols " at the British Museum . That day, the librarian found the book, which our correspondent described to us . We reproduced it in our Introduction to the “ Protocols ” as follows : !

In London. the Russian copy is in the library of the British Museum, 3026 to 17; it bears the entry stamp : British Museum, August 10 , 1906. This Russian copy is a beautiful octavo bound in black morocco ; it has 417 pages. The “ Protocols ” form, in the theoretical work of Serge Nilus,

appendix XII, under this title : “ The Antichrist as an immediate political possibility , The “ Protocols ” of the Sages of Zion, 1902-1903, rr ”. They are divided into twenty-four “ Protocols ”, including, according to the Morning Post of July 17 , 1920,

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approximately 30,000 words. They are paginated from number 305 to number 417,

“ falseness ” is not in the figure of the “ Protocols ” of the British Museum, nor in the revelations of these overwhelming reports , but in the cynical negations of the Jews , to whom Christ Jesus already said :

You are the daughters of your father, the devil, who speaks from his own heart when he speaks a lie, because he is a liar and the father is a lie (2).

Hence undoubtedly this precept of Voltaire :

You have to lie like hell , not timidly , not for

a time, but boldly and always... Lie, my friends, lie G.

i.e. 112 pages (1).

° These details are sufficient to refute the shameless lie of the Jewish Tribune and its correspondents ; they are proof that the

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I have always affirmed that I know neither morality nor immorality ; I only know what is useful and what is harmful to the proletariat . I am ready to lie when dealing with the imperialist-capitalists, and I will lie so well that I myself will blush for my lies; But it would be ignoble and miserable to have sincerity when dealing with the bourgeoisie (4) .

The Jews today use this favorite weapon of lies against the publication of the “ Protocols ” , from which they can draw the method and the example. We can say both, like Humanists , that their advice is at the same time " the forge and the marcité of lies " (5). The Judeo - Masonic lie , in use and in honor among Humanists , Philosophers and Franks- Magons , has never displayed itself among us as brazenly as in the antica-

(1) M# JourN : The “ Protocols ” of the Elders of Zion, p. 2.

(2) Joan., VIII, 44.

(3) Vottaire : Letter to Thiriot, t. LXIX, p. 36. Printing house of the Literary

Typographic Society , 1785, (4) Le Pesti

Hirlap, May 3 , 1919, reproduced by La Liberté of May 18 .

Bela-Kun 's speech to the Council of Workers and Soldiers .

(5) Guiraup : The Church and the origins of the Renaissance, p. 153 and 309 ;

Paris, Lecoffre, 1902.

Closer to us , in the midst of Bolshevism in Hungary, the Jew Bela-Kun said : ;

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tholic and antisocial plan revealed by the “ Protocols ” . Did n't the Judeo-Masons sell their lies and hold a public market on the rise of a pre-war deliberately unprepared by the lie of antimilitarism, on the rise of a war indefinitely prolonged by the lie of treason , on the rise of a decadent peace from concession to concession through the lie of socialism ?

And why ? To destroy Catholic France . The pre- war livery at Jaurès; the war; to the Lutheran William IF; _peace , to Wilson

Presbyterian . These three names summarize the entire Masonic plan ; and if the last, that of Br. Wilson, seems more questionable , to be convinced you just have to read this page from M. Aulard on the “ secular papacy ”, “ the religion of humanity ”, “ the secular catholicity of the League of Nations . It is still the market of lies , where masons sell Catholic France and the Church of Christ at auction :

At the same time, and in an admirable contrast , this role of herald and defender of the truth, which the Pope dared to take on, was boldly assumed and superbly fulfilled by a layman. by a nuneatholic , by the great head of

a great state, by President Wilson, who, following the example of almost all his truly educated fellow citizens , has, for the use of his soul, enlarged

and, as it were , secularized Christianity , or rather he humanized it , without removing the clothing of ancient formulas, so as to transform it almost into this religion of humanity, dear to so many French people, formerly disciples of Pierre Leroux , yesterday of Auguste Comte , today by Mr. Loisy, and which, moreover, had already been formulated , even at the time of the American Revolution . by the Anglo- American Thomas Paine.

The words of President Wilson were heard and listened to by all humanity . She made all the flowers that light and warm the light of new times beat . In a world so afflicted, it aroused sublime and fruitful hopes . It decided all the people of the United States to risk death to save humanity from slavery. She made the tyrant .ull''mund tremble on his bloody throne .

She proclaimed human truth in advance , the League of Nations . Yes, while the Pope was silent or stammered diplomatically , it was she, the great secular word , who gave men the good news , Another Catholicity is being prepared, where there is room for all fellow citizens of France and of

the world, It is the voice of a free man , and not that of a pontile from the past, who will have guided this poor humanity torn apart by the most atrocious of wars towards a future of brotherhood and peace C.

(1) Le Pays, May 10 , 1918, “ The Pope and Wilson ”, by A. Aulard.

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THE JEWS AND THE “ PROTOCOLS ”

This intellectual who " humanized " Christianity is indeed the descendant of the " humanists " , this " Christian by origin and education " , who is preparing another catholicity is indeed the son of the philosophers and the emulator of Robespierre with his cult of the " Supreme Being "; this Protestant who, through the sectarian evolution of free examination, transformed the religion of Christ into the religion of humanity is indeed the Freemason faithful to the Constitutions of 1723, which contained in germ the last word of Masonry : secularism .

Cf. 1° A. Loisy, The peace of nations and the religion of the future, Puris.

Nourry, 1919. 2° Le Gaulois du Dimanche, June 1, 1919 , “ The Spiritual Magisterium of President Wilson ”, by François Maurice. The editor points out that the new secular Pope is “ the servant of the servants of democracy ” ; that he suffered “ the demand of his religious faith ” to choose Geneva instead of Brussels as the seat of his League of Nations ; that in this fact there is “ the new alliance of the Reformed Church and universal Masonry ” ; ' ultimately, he depends " on the powers of flesh alongside the

powers of money ", while the true Pope derives his power from Dicu . As for Mr. Wilson 's title of Freemason , here are some indisputable references : 1° Internal Review . des Soc . Secrètes , 111 , 184 , year 1913 ; D.'. F.'., La Fidélité, Temple,

8, rue Puteau The End of diplomacy secreted by the policy of our F. '. President Wilson, Conference by Br .'. Lucien Le Foyer, former deputy of Paris ; 3° The Algerian FF.'. to their F.'. Wilson (Algerian Dispatch of December 30 , 1918) : Committee of Vigilance and Masonic Action of Algiers voted to send to President Wilson the following telegram : “ At the time of your arrival on the land of France, the Freemasons of the four Lodges of Algiers, gathered in plenary dress , on Sunday , December 8 , send to their illustrious Brother Wilson their most fraternal tributes and their most lively congratulations for his Masonic work in the war for the rights and freedom of peoples .

They received the following response from Mr. Wilson 's secretary :

“ Paris, December 17 , 1918. The President ordered me to convey to

you his deep appreciation for the kind words of welcome expressed in your telegram of December 13. ”

Let us recall, on this subject, that in Brest, the Grand Lodge of France made greet President Wilson with any Br . Taugourdeau .

In the Catholic Faith (May 30 , 1919), Mr. Canon Gaudeau adds :

" Let us note that this response ratifies, approves and formally confirms , in the name of Mr. Wilson, the congratulations addressed to this Freemason by his FF ." for his musical work in war and peace . See the commentary on these texts in the brochure by M. Canon Gaudeau : Brother Wilson , his maçannlqu work ; Paris, 25, rue Vaneau, 1919 ; 1 fr. 10.

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the market in Judeo - Masonic lies

Such are the forge and

whose mark is so deeply imprinted in the “ Protocols ” that it alone

reveals their origin .

Is it not written in the first report: “ He who wants to govern

must resort to ruse and hypocrisy ? ” » (1). This principle is essential for the defense of Israel's plan . But negations , lies, diversions (2), fictions , too apparent to mislead , have only revealed and confirmed the “ Protocols ” . The last trial

balloon was launched by Princess Catherine Radziwill in the Revue Mondiale . of March 15 , 1921. According to this intrigue, the

“ Protocols ”, inspired by General Orgewsky, written by three agents of the Russian secret police ; Rachkowsky, Manassevitch - Maniuloff and Mathieu Golwinsky, were made in 1905 with the aim of deceiving

Nicholas II. The first plan dates back to 1884, to influence Alexander IIL ; But what happens to Nilus ? The Jews are already making it a

myth . They forget that the

“ Protocols ” are only an appendix to his book on the Antichrist,

which cannot be the work of the Russian police.

Moreover, an article in Plain English does justice to the non- - value of the testimony of the World Review and the state of

(1) M¢ Jouin : The “ Protocols ” of the Elders of Zion, p. 34.

(2) One of these diversions consists, according to M. Ch. Maunnas, in the trip of the Jew Einstein to America : “ Yesterday we

admired the prodigious power of propulsion of national ideas throughout the world . In the same issue, our collab- Borator and friend Roger Lambelin told, according to Jewish newspapers , the wonderful story of Einstein 's trip to America. Mr. Ford's vigorous anti-Semitic propaganda worries the Jews . The Jews are thinking of defending themselves , and what are they doing ? There is a scholar of their race in the world who is talked about a lot. Professor, he has so far only dealt with of high mathematics, he carefully abstained from all politics ; he even , at the start of the

war , refused to sign the manifesto of the ninety-three, of more abstract minds and better confined in the ivory tower , we know very little about him , so it is him that the Jews will look for in order to push him like a pawn on the chessboard of American races , Mobilized like a furry man and lined up like a man, here is our inhabitant of the Ether (of which, moreover , ,

udiciously existence), rushed to the height of the harshest s that are agitated under the Moon ! He will leave. Apart from

that , the Jewish Guardian announced it to us . He will strive to show and bring home the value, the importance , the dignity , the hierarchical rank , the human dimension of the race to which men are due .

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depreciation of the character who brings it (1). We had already insinuated it based on first - hand information that we had from Italy. There is no need to insist further.

It is therefore in vain that the Jews want to deny the authenticity of the “ Protocols ”; not only do they not discover the “ forger ”, but they only confront us with “ forgeries ” .

Let us end with a critical study of these minutes, a study taken from the Dearborn Independent :

The documents most frequently cited by those interested in the question of Jewish world power rather than the current exercise of this power in the

world , are the twenty -four documents known under the title of " Protocols " of the Sages of If we.

The “ Protocols ” attracted considerable attention in Europe ; they have become the center of an energetic agitation of opinion in England quite recently; but, in the United States, their discussion has been limited. These are the same documents that the Department of Justice was investigating . more than a year ago , documents were published in London by Eyre and Spottiswoode , official printers of the Government ,

It is unclear who gave these documents the title “ Ancients of Zion . ” It would be possible, without seriously damaging the documents, to remove everything that bears the trace of Jewish origin , while retaining the essential features of a very extensive program of world conquest , the most extensive that has ever been known. .

And yet it must be said that eliminating all t of Jewish origin . this would give rise to a certain number of contradictions which did not exist in the

“ Protocols ” in their current form . The aim of the plan revealed in the " Protocols " is to annihilate all existing authority , in order to establish a new authority in the form of autocracy. Such a plan cannot emanate from a governing class which would already be the authority

However , it could come from anarchists, but Islam does not give

autocracy as the final goal towards which it aims . The authors could be conceived as a troop of French destroyers such as existed at the time of the Revolution . French having as its leader the infdom of Orléans, but this would result in a contradiction with the fact that the program set out in these “ Protocols ”

like him. He will be the living advertisement of the twelve tribes, and the " rage " of Mr. Ford and his disciples will soften - perhaps when Doctor Einstein will make the music of the spheres resonate to their surprised

and delighted intelligence, because , at this At the same time , some interested but sentient voice will come to point out that the Jews are good .”

(1) Plain English, April 2 , 1921, p. 276. Cf. Catholic News, March 17 , 1921, and April 7 , p. 184 ; and Old France, April 14 , 1921, p. 22.

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but continues to be executed smoothly , not only visibly rancid , and that it manifests itself United States. throughout Europe .

In their present form , which is clearly, incontestably, contradictory . The In its primitive form , there is a obligation of a

Jewish origin which appears essential for the unity of the plan's design .

If these documents were the work of a forger, as the apologists claim , to give them Jews. the counterfeiters would certainly have taken the trouble * such a strongly marked Jewish character , that this would have led to the discovery of their anti -Semitic aim . But the word “ Jew ” is only found twice .

After reading further than the average reader usually does on such subjects , one arrives at the plans for the institution of a world Autocrat , and only then is his origin spoken of .

But in the full extent of the documents there is not a shadow of doubt about the people against whom the plan is directed . The plan does not aim at aristocracy as such: it does not aim at capital as such; it does not target the government as such. Measures defined with the greatest precision are prescribed for the enlistment of the aristocracy , the pital and the government

with a view to the execution of the plan. No, the people referred to are the people of the Gentiles. It is the frequent mention of the Gentiles that really determines the purpose of these documents. Most destructive types of " liberal " plans tend to enlist the people as auxiliaries , while this plan proposes to work towards the degeneration of the people , so that the people fall into confusion of mind (intellectual chaos) . and thus becomes an easy material to handle. We will consider popular movements of a

“ liberal ” character . All destructive philosophical conceptions in matters of

religion and economics . of politics, of domestic life will be seeded and watered with the aim of disintegrating social solidarity , which will make it possible to realize, without us noticing , a certain plan which is exposed here, which will make it possible to mold the people according to this plan , when the fallacious nature of these philosophies has been exposed . -

The current formula is not : “ We , the Jews, we will do this. where that ” , But : “ The Gentiles will be led to think and do this or that ”. With few exceptions , which are found in the latest “ Protocols ” . the firm distinctive seal of race is the word Gentiles.

To clarify this failure, let us cite the first indication of this kind : it is found in the first “ Protocol ” in these terms :

“ The great qualities of the people Honesty and Frenchness are essentially vital in politics, because they dethrone more surely , more certainly than the strongest enemy . These qualities

are paths of the government of the Gentiles : we must certainly not take

them for guides . And this again :

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“ We have established on the ruins of the hereditary aristocracy of the Gentiles, the educated aristocratic of our own class, and above all the aristocracy of money. We have established wealth as the basis of this new aristocracy. that we dominate as well as the service guided by our Sages ”.

And even :

“ We are increasing wages , which , however, will be of no benefit to the workers, given that at the same time we are causing a rise in the prices of basic necessities , alleging that it is due to the decline of agriculture and livestock breeding . We will thus artfully and profoundly undermine the sources of production , insinuating anarchic ideas into the workers and encouraging them to consume alcohol . at the same time that we will take measures to drive out of the land all the intellectual forces of the Gentiles .”

A forger, gifted with anti - Semitic malice , could have written this at any time of the five years which have just passed , but these words were printed at least fourteen years ago according to the testimony which results from the deposit made to the British Museum in 1906 and given the fact that they were widespread in Russia several years before that date . The " Protocol " in question continues in these terms :

" So that the true situation is not noticed by the Gentiles prematurely, we will mask it by a feigned effort to serve the working classes , and by favoring the great economic principles with a view to which active propaganda will be made by means of our theories economic ".

These quotations will show the style used by the " Protucols " to allude to the interested parties . They use the word " we " for the authors, and the word " Gentiles " for those about whom they write . This appears very clearly in the fourteenth section :

" In this difference between the Gentiles and us in the ability to think and reason , is clearly manifested the seal of our election as a chosen people and our quality as superior human beings , in contrast to the Gentiles who have only purely instinctive and animal intelligences . Ms observe; but they do not foresee ; They invent nothing , (except perhaps material things . It is clear from this that nature itself has predestined us to govern and lead the world .

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This has , quite naturally, been the Jewish method of dividing the human race since ancient times . The world consisted only of Jews and Gentiles ; everything that was not Jewish was included in the Gentile category .

The use of the word " Jew " in the " Protocols " can be explained by

ec passage taken from the & section :

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" For the time being , until it is safe to give responsible positions in government to our Jewish brothers , we will give them to people whose background and reputation are such that they there is a gulf between them and the people .

This practice is the one we know, it is the use of “ gentile fronts ”, a method practiced in large proportions in today's financial world , to mark

the signs of Jewish mastery .

The progress made since these lines were written may be judged from

what happened at the San Francisco convention , when the name of Judge Brandeis was put forward for the presidency .It is reasonable to expect that as the public becomes increasingly familiar with the idea of a Jew occupying the presidency , it will then be only a small step from the degree of the influence that the Jews currently exercise , up to the highest office in the government . There is no exercise of the American presidential function in which Jews have not already secretly collaborated to a very extensive degree . The effective arrival at the presidency is not necessary for the increase of their power, it is to accomplish certain things which come very close to the plans outlined in the “ Protocols ” which we have before us .

Another thing that the reader of the “ Protocols ” will notice is that in these documents the tone of exhortation is entirely lacking. No propaganda here . no effort to stimulate the ambitions or activity of the characters to whom one addresses. These documents have the coldness of a procedural document , the realism of a statistical table . Nowhere do we find the exhortation : “ Let us rise , my brothers ” ; it never says : “ Down with the Gentiles , ” in a hysterical tone . The " Protocols ", if they are truly the work of Jews, and they were conferred on Jews , or if they contain certain principles of a world Jewish program , were certainly not conceived as incendiary brands ; they were written for carefully prepared and tested initiates , initiates of higher groups .

Jewish apologists asked , " Is it conceivable that if there really was such a world program on the part of the Jews , they would write it down and

publish it ? " » But there is no evidence that these “ Protocols ” were formulated other than orally by those who drew them up . The “ Protocols , ” as we know them , appear to be notes taken during conferences by someone who attended them . Some of them are extensive, some others are brief. The assertion that has always been made about the " Protocols " since they were leaked to public knowledge is that they are notes taken from lectures given to Jewish students somewhere in France or in what we presume . Therefore the effort made to give them the appearance of being of Russian origin is absolutely contradicted, annihilated by the point of view, by the allusions to certain dates, by certain grammatical indications .

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It is obvious that the tone confirms the supposition that their starting point is lectures given to students (1) , because their aim is clearly not to have a program accepted , but to provide information about a program represented as already running . There is no invitation to meet in groups or to formulate opinions . And moreover, it is categorically declared that neither discussion nor appreciation is requested . (While preaching liberalism to the Gentiles , we will keep our officers in unquestioning obedience) . (“ The administration plan must come from a single brain ”). (“ Therefore , we must know the plan of action, but we must not discuss it , lest we destroy its character of unity ”). (“ The inspired work of our leader must therefore not be thrown to a crowd to be torn to pieces , it must not even be delivered to a limited group ”) .

Furthermore , by examining the “ Protocols ” according to their apparent value , it will be clear that the program set out in these conference notes was not a new program at the time the conferences were held . 11 contains no evidence of a recent arrangement . We recognize the tone that a tradition takes , that a religion takes , from one end to the other, just as if it had been transmitted from generation to generation through the intermediary of certain specially tested and initiated men . We recognize nothing there that resembles a new discovery , nothing that reveals fresh enthusiasm ; we see only the assured and calm language of facts known for a long time , and of political mysteries confirmed by long experience . - The question. The seniority of the program is addressed at least twice in the “ Protocols ” themselves . In the first “ Protocol ”, we find this passage :

“ Already in ancient times , we were the first to proclaim the words Liberty , Equality, Fraternity , among the people ; these words have been repeated many times since by unconscious parrots who flocked from all sides to this decoy , thanks to which they destroyed the prosperity of the world and true personal freedom ... The Gentiles, who one might presume wise and intelligent , did not understand the symbolism of the words uttered aloud ; they have not grasped their contradictory meaning ; They have not noticed that equality does not exist in nature .

(1) Translator 's Note . The word " students " used here twice very imperfectly captures the meaning of the English word " students " which designates both young people who follow courses in a Faculty or a Higher School and all those who deal with intellectual matters . tual, scientific , literary, historical research , etc. It is in this last sense that we must take the word “ students ” here .

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The other allusion to the purposes of the program is found in the thirteenth

“ Protocol ”

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“ Questions of policy , however , are not open to anyone except those who have charted the policy and directed it for many centuries . ”

Could there be an allusion here to the strict Jewish Sanhedrin , which would have emerged through co - optation within a certain Jewish caste , from generation to generation ?

But it must be said , the builders and dmgeanls alluded to here . cannot , at the present time , be a ruling caste , because everything that the program has in view is directly opposed to the interests of such a caste. Nor can there be any question of an aristucratic national group , analogous to the German Junkers , because the methods which are proposed are the very ones which would reduce such a group to impotence . Nor can there be any question of anything other than a people who have no government , a people who have everything to gain , who have nothing to lose and who can remain intact in the midst of a world that is collapsing, there is a group that meets this description , and there is only one.

Another thing : a reading of the “ Protocols ” clearly shows that the speaker was not seeking any honor for himself. There is a complete absence of personal ambition throughout the document . All plans , all projects , all hopes are drowned in the future of Israel, a future which, it seems, can only be achieved by subtly ruining certain world ideas held by the Gentiles, the

“ Prutocols ” talk about what has been done , what is being done at the very moment they speak , what remains to be done . Nothing can be compared to them for the care in completing the detail, the breadth of the plan, the subtle, profound understanding of the hidden springs of human actions . They are truly terrifying in their mastery in exposing the secrets of life . equally terrifying by the certainty of possessing this mastery. They truly deserve the appreciation that Jews have recently given to them . namely

that they were the work of an " inspired madman ", but we can answer them that what is written in the " Protocols " is also true in today 's life , not by words , but by actions and trends .

The passages in which these “ Protocols ” describe the stupidity of the Gen are fair criticisms . It is impossible not to agree to the last iota with the

“ Protocols ” when they speak of the mentality and weakness of the Geutils . The wisest Gentile thinkers have allowed themselves to be duped into accepting ideas of progress that have only been insinuated into the human mind through insidious and systematic propaganda .

It is true that here and there a thinker arose who declared that so -called science was not science at all . It is true that here and there a thinker arose to say that the so - called economic laws , too ,

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both those of the conservatives and those of the radicals were not laws at all , but artificial inventions . It is true that from time to time a penetrating

observer has asserted that the recent debauchery of luxury and extravagance was not at all due to the natural impulses of people, but that it was the effect of systematic stimulation , that it was inoculated on purpose. It is true that a small number of people have discerned that more than half of what passes for " public opinion " is merely venal approval , paid advertising, and the public mind remains indifferent to it .

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But these warnings given here and there, and almost always disdained. have never been given in a followed and coordinated manner by those who had their eyes open, and who could then trace back to the sources from which these warnings came. The principal reason for the power with which the " Protocols " have taken possession of the minds of the ruling men of various parts of the world for several decades is that they explain from whence all these disastrous influences come and to what end they tend. They provide the common thread in the current labyrinth . It is now time for the people to know. Whether the “ Protocols ” are considered as proving or not proving a certain thing about the Jews , it is nonetheless

true that they constitute a series of lessons on the way in which the masses, the masses , can be manipulated . lead like a flock of sheep, by means of influences of which they understand nothing . It is almost certain that once the principles of the " Protocols " are widely known and understood by the people, the criterion which they accurately apply to the minds of the people will have lost all its value.

In the next articles in this series , we propose to study these documents and derive answers to all the questions that arise about them .

Before undertaking this work , there is one question that must be resolved : " Is there any likelihood that the Protocols program can be carried out to its complete success ? " » However, the program has already been partially

carried out ; it is already a reality in many of its most important phases . But we should not be alarmed , because the main weapon to use against a program of this kind , both in what it has achieved and in what remains to

be achieved , is brilliant publicity . . Let the people know. Exciting the people, alarming the people, appealing to the passions of the people, such is the method which constitutes the plan outlined in the “ Protocols ” . The antidote is simply to enlighten the people.

This is the sole purpose of these articles. Spreading the light means dissipating prejudice . It is just as desirable to dispel the prejudices of the Jew as to dispel those of the Gentile. Jewish writers admit too easily that all prejudices are on one side . The “ Protocols ” should obtain the widest circulation among the Jews themselves, so that they

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be able to prevent things that bring distrust to their name (1).

(1) Dearborn Independent, July 24 , 1920 ; Introduction. to the “ Pro- tocols » Jews, p. 109.

MS consulting engineer in financial studies , wrote to us recently : ;

“ ...I will take advantage of these lines to communicate to you a reflection which will perhaps seem to you , in its financial technicality , of some interest with a view to resolving the problem of the authenticity of the “ Protocols ”.

» Without listing here the reasons which, in my opinion, must lean in favor of this authenticity , I will cite one which may have been missed : these are the improprieties of certain terms , not to mention the visible gaps , again- that the typographical nature of certain passages was not marked , and the fragmentary and discontinuous character of the text given to us . All this seems to me to prove that there was , not

a very skillful forger at the origin of the " Protocols ", but rather , in the chain of developers of different languages and sexes who we are told were the transmitters

of the text, um a certain number of incompetent rings who did not grasp the importance or the meaning of certain passages.

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» Thus, we deleted , as undoubtedly being of little interest , what must have been said in paragraph 6 , on monopolies : Royal Dutch , Standard Oil did not yet seem very interesting , in Russia , in 1905 ; today we would insist on that.

» Another example, this one of misunderstood translation : it is in paragraph 2. It should be read : “ At present , all national loans ” are supported by money from the floating debt (debt with a more or less near term) . This money is that of the General Treasurers or the Savings Banks (or, in France , the Caisse des Dépôts et

Consignations). As it is at the disposal of the Government, the latter - uses it to

pay its commitments abroad , and automatically replaces it in its coffers with its own State funds (which it buys back on the Stock Exchange for this purpose , which

artificially supports lessons) ; and it is these State funds (increased, automatically bought back at too high a price for minors and incapable by notaries , for

depositors , by the Caisse des Dépôts, the Savings Banks , etc.) which partially mask the deficit of the funds public ”.

» I have obviously paraphrased somewhat, but I have made the author 's meaning certain . However, it is visible that this meaning escaped at least one of the authors of the text given to us . It is therefore unlikely that he is a talented forger ; it is, on the contrary, very plausible that the first copy of the documents, or their first translation, was made by a woman , as we are led to believe .

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The crucial point of the Jewish question lies in the veracity of the " Protocols ". Nobody is wrong . Without going back further than the first Russian edition of 1901 (1), this document contains such luminous achievements since the war of 1914 that its veracity is manifest , and, on the other hand, revelations so unforeseen as a whole that their prediction becomes inexplicable without detailed knowledge of the Jewish plan as we have given it . Also, renowned writers , the Reinachs and the Wolfs of all countries , strive to first persuade their readers of the non - existence of any idea of Jewish world hegemony , and , secondly, of the preponderant participation of Jews in the Holshevism, especially in Russia (2),

The facts belie these two enormous lies from Israel.

We will provide superabundant proof of this by dealing with Judeo -Masonry under the heading of Counter-State. In the meantime , it will suffice for us to respond here to the first lie by publishing an English pamphlet entitled : The Jews among the Leaders of the Entente ; and , in the second, by this other pamphlet: Who governs Russia ? Personnel of the Soviet Bureaucracy .

PREMIER DOCUMENT

The booklet on The Jews among the Leaders of the Entente was printed by order of the British government . It is not for sale. Characters of the second rank would find their place marked there , if only, in England, the Jew Sassoon , with whom Lloyd George likes to bring together the visible leaders of the Entente; and, in France , the Jew Mandel, the most prominent in the Jewish court of Clemenceau . Likewise , the real masters of the

situation do not appear in this short presentation. Only a special study on Upper International Jewish Baptism can unravel the crux of the plan of

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(1) We have in our hands this Russian edition from 1901, more complete than Nilus ' translation . We will devote a future article to it .

(2) One of the facts of this Jewish literature is the Open Letter to the Hundred Blacks of Russia, by J. IsArBVITCH, preceded by Salomon REINACH ; Lausanne, Ruedi, 1920

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“ Protocols ”. Finally, this pamphlet dates from 1918 : Herbert Samuel was not yet in Palestine, nor Lord Reading in India.

We do not reproduce the photographs which precede each biographical notice , but we indicate their publishers.

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The Jews among the chets of the Entente (1) PREFACE

This small brochure aims to present a sketch of the career of some of the main Jewish leaders among the nations of the Entente, and the part they played in the cause of the Allies in this world struggle .

For the Jew, the current war interests him and affects him from three points of view . As a member of a nation which has suffered extreme cruelty and oppression for the past 2,000 years , he can appreciate perhaps more fully than any other people the sacredness of the work of struggle for freedom and justice .

As a loyal citizen of the country where he lives, he is obviously willing to make the last sacrifices for his home and his motherland . And finally , last but not least , " the British Great Charter of Jewish Freedom " , as the " British Declaration on Zionism " was rightly called , makes him feel that his destiny , as a Jew , is indissolubly linked to the victory of the Allies, and that it is only through the triumph of the Allied cause that the future of Jewry is assured .

Much has been written about Jewish heroism on the battlefield , that of the corps of Jewish mule drivers, that of the Jewish battalions in England and America , that of the countless Jewish heroes scattered throughout all the non-Jewish regiments of the armies of the

Entente. It has been calculated that , of all English - born Jews , ten percent enlisted in the army and navy before the Derby Project came into force . A proportionally considerable number of Jews received decorations for bravery on the battlefield , and six

(1) The Jews among the Entente Leuders, Londres, R. Clay et fils, Ltd., 1918.

Jews received the most envied of all honors : the Victoria

Cross .

It is hoped that this little pamphlet will give some idea of the

contribution that the Jews made to the Allied cause behind the

battle lines .

The Earl of Reading, in his mission to the United States, to

strengthen the spirit of brotherhood between the two great English

- speaking races on each side of the Atlantic, Mr. Baruch and Mr. Samuel Gompers, responsible for administering and controlling the resources of the States -United in support of this world struggle ,

and Mr. Kahn who, although of German origin , threw off the yoke

of Prussian militarism , and showed himself the absolutely devoted and enthusiastic support of the Allied cause by his liberal munificence and witness whom he brought to justice in this cause , are only representatives of thousands of Jews , each of whom individually plays a role which is not to be disdained in the allied nations for the triumph of democracy and freedom .

Let us hope that the current unity of effort among the Jewish representatives of the Entente Powers is the symbol of a broader unity which will arise after the war , not with the aim of annihilation and destruction , as is inevitable at the moment , but for the creation of a better and happier world in which the great Hebrew ideals of fairness and justice will prevail (1).

Lt Very HONORABLE HERBERT-! ovis SAMUEL, MEMBER OF

PARLIAMENT (Photo Russell el fils)

Born in Liverpool in 1870, Mr. Samuel, immediately after leaving Oxford, where he received first- class honors , and , even before then, threw himself headlong into politics . He entered Parliament

(Cleveland Constituency) in 1902, after

(1) This Preface could be placed at the beginning of the “ Protocols ”. It is the apology of the Jews, the affirmation of their predominance in the political and financial world , the discreet prediction of their supergovernment of tomorrow. Let us not

forget that the brochure is published by order of the English Government ; we will be less surprised by the behavior

of Lloyd George towards France : he is the prisoner of Judeo - Masonry .

(Translator 's note).

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two failures, and, a little more than three years later , he obtained a job with the Government.

Four years later, Mr. Samuel entered the Cabinet . He was successively Parliamentary Under - Secretary for the Home Department , Chancellor

of the Duchy of Lancaster (with a seat in the Cabinet), Postmaster

General , Chairman of the Local Government Office , and Home Secretary .

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Although he is no longer in office, Mr. Samuel occupies one of the most eminent positions in the House of Commons , and those who are qualified to judge and who have followed his career expect a future for him even more brilliant than his past .

Mr. Samuel is a member of one of the most favorably known families in Anglo - Jewish public life and has devoted himself enthusiastically to the interests and pursuit of the goals of Zionism . :

The RIGHT HONORABLE Epwin-Samuver MONTAGU, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

(Pholo-Sport and General)

Born in London in 1879, Mr. Montagu is the second son of the late Lord Swaythling, better known as Sir Samuel Montagu , who was , for half a century, a pillar of Anglo -Jewry.

After leaving Cambridge , Mr. Montagu entered Parliament for the Chesterton constituency in 1906, and immediately became private secretary to Mr. Asquith , then Chancellor of the Exchequer .

In 1910 he was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, and four years later he entered the Cabinet

as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster . Since then Mr. Montagu has served as Secretary financier of the Treasury and Minister of Munitions .

He is currently Secretary of State for India. Soon after

taking office , he visited India to study the political and social

conditions there and prepare to introduce

bring about long - range reforms in a liberal and democratic sense .

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THE JEWS AND THE “ PROTOCOLS ”

The Right HONORABLE EARL OF READING, P. C., G. C. B., K. C. V. D.

(Photo

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Russell) _ Born in London in 1860 , Lord Reading set many precedents . He was the first British Attorney-General to be placed in the Cabinet . He is the first Jew to become attorney -general, viscount, earl, and who rose to the dignity of Lord Chief Justice of England . He was the first English Jew to whom an embassy was entrusted ; he is the first English ambassador to whom powers as extensive as those he enjoys in Washington have been entrusted . And Lord Reading is by no means at the end of his career.

The story of this career reads like a novel . When he was still a young boy, he escaped to go to sea.

Later , he entered the Stock Exchange, where he failed. " That doesn't disconcert him- " Tagea point ; he decided to study law and began practicing at the bar at

the age of twenty -seven . He quickly made up for lost time and soon established himself in the forefront , becoming one of the most successful and successful lawyers England had .

In 1898, while still simply Mr. Rufus Isaacs, he became a King 's

Attorney ; in 1904 he was appointed a Fellow of the Middle Temple ; in 1910 he was appointed Solicitor-General , and after a short time months later ,

he became attorney- general. Three years later , he was elevated to the rank of First President at Court (Lord Chief Justice). He had been elected

to Parliament from the constituency of Reading, in 1904, and he retained

this position . seat until the day of his elevation to the House of Lords, that is to say nine years later .

Before his appointment, in the present year, as British envoy extraordinary and high commissioner to the United States , the special talents of Lord Reading had earned him , since the outbreak of the war, to be employed

by the State, which had already sent him on mission to the United States. UNITED STATES.

Lord Reading, although his time was very busy with business , was always eager to put his good offices at the service of the Jewish community , and , on several occasions , he chaired meetings held with the aim of defending the interests Jewish institutions . In the United States , he

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supported the Zionist movement , not only as a representative of its government , but also in its own name. -

The RIGHT HONORABLE SIR ALFRED MOND, BARONET, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

(Photo Elliolt el Frg\

Born at Farnworth , Lancashire , in 1868 , Sir Alfred Mond is one of the most considerable authorities in England on all matters of decomomy and social science . Before accepting a job in the current government , he was interested in the largest industrial companies in the world . He was effective director of the house of Brunner, Mond et C", Limited, and president of

the " Mond Nickel C° Ltd " which had been founded by his father, Doctor Ludwig Mond, member of the Royal Society . He was president of the Chemical Industries section at the Franco- British Exhibition which took place a few years ago in London.

has written extensively on questions of commerce, politics , economics, etc. He entered Parliament in 1905 as representative for Chester, and since 1910 he has represented the Swansea constituency . He is a member of the Privy Council and a baronet

of the United Kingdom . In 1917, Sir Alfred Mond became First Commissioner of the Works, under the ministry of Mr. Lloyd George. Sir Alfred is one of those English Jews who are of third Jewish descent , and a very energetic supporter of the Zionist movement . He is the president of the Swansea section of the Anglo-Jewish Association .

M. Lucsen KLOTZ (Pholo Gerschel)

Born in 1868, a member of one of the Alsatian Jewish families who emigrated to France after the Frank-Prussian War , Mr. Klotz worked as a lawyer and publicist , and, barely twenty years old , he founded the first of three newspapers . that he created during his career .

He has been a member of the Chamber of Deputies since 1898, after two electoral failures .

Mr. Klotz first entered the Cabinet in 1911 , and served in three successive ministries as Minister of Finance . In 1913 he moved to the Ministry of the Interior ; but, in 1917, he took over the Ministry of Finance , which he still retains , despite a change in the Presidency of the Council.

Mr Klotz 's parliamentary duties do not encompass all his activity. He found time to write an offline work entitled The Army in 1906, and he devoted much of his time to charitable works .

M. JosepH REINACH (Pholo Gerschel)

Born in Frince in 1856 , Mr. Reinach is one of three brothers illustrious in the contemporary annals of France and Jewry . His second brother, Salomon, is a distinguished philosopher and archaeologist . The youngest of the three, Theodore, is also distinguished as a scholar.

Mr. Joseph Reinach occupies a prominent place in French life as a publicist and politician . He is a lawyer by profession, but, from the very beginning of his career, he focused all his activity on journalism . In this situation, he attracted the attention of Gambetta who made him his private secretary . After Gambetta's death , Mr. Reinach became political director of La République Française . Mr. Reinach 's writings cover an immense number of subjects : politics , biography, constitutional history , literature , foreign affairs , education ; it is absolutely impossible to even list the titles of his books.

He was elected, for the first time, to the Chamber of Deputies in 1889, but he lost his seat in 1898 , due to his ardor in defending Captain Dreyfus . In 1916 he was re - elected by his former constituency to Parliament. Mr. Reinach always remained an isolated member , but he distinguished himself as a member of numerous commissions where the

value of his work was recognized on all sides . In 1886, Mr. Reinach was named a knight of the Legion of Honor.

The BAnoN Sibvey HYMN (Photo Record Press)

Born in 1847, in Alexandria, Egypt , the son of a Jewish emigrant from Livorno , Baron Sonnino devoted practically his entire life to foreign affairs and politics . After having taken

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After completing his law degree at the University of Pisa, he entered into a diplomatic career . From diplomacy , Baron Sonnino moved to journalism . He founded and directed, in 1878, the Rassegna Settimanale (Weekly Review) which, four years later, became a daily newspaper , and, later still , he created the Giornale dItalia.

During this same period , he entered the Chamber of Deputies , where he immediately specialized in finance and foreign affairs . His election to Parliament was prefaced by a study on the economic situation of Sicily , undertaken with the collaboration of another Jew, Baron Léopold Franchetti . Baron Sonnino also wrote on other economic subjects and on Dante , as a form of relaxation .

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In 1893 he became Minister of Finance, and the following year Minister of the Treasury. His work during this period was considered the foundation of Italy 's financial prosperity ; and the inauguration of the era of budget surpluses . Ten years later , Baron Sonnino was appointed prime minister . He was the first Jew to hold this high office. In 1909, he was, for the second time, called to head a ministry.

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In November 1914, upon the death of the Marquis of San Giuliano, Baron Sonnino was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs , and, despite numerous changes of Cabinet , he has retained this office until the present time . Then Italy had not yet entered the war , but , under the leadership of Baron Sonnino , it took its place , a few months ago , on the side of the Allies, and it always remained a reliable ally in their successes and their setbacks,

MRS Luier LUZZATTI (Photo Pierre Petil;

Born in Venice in 1841, Signor Luzzatti was nicknamed “ the admirable Crichton of Italy ” . He had barely passed his adolescence when he was giving a course on Economics in Venice, a city which then belonged to Austria and from which he was forced to flee for political reasons . At

twenty-two , he was professor of political economy in Milan, and, six

Years later , still too young to enter Parliament , he was secretary general of the Ministry of Agriculture .

Signor Luzzatti was twice elected to Parliament before reaching the legal age to be a member . Since the day he was allowed to take his place , he has never stopped sitting there . From 1891 to 1906, he served almost continuously as Minister of the Treasury

and Finance . For part of this period he held both jobs simultaneously , and under his leadership the finances of his country achieved a degree of prosperity hitherto unknown .

In 1909, Signor Luzzatfi became Minister of Agriculture , Industry and Commerce , and a few months later , Prime Minister. During the last thirty years, whenever Italy has had a commercial treaty to negotiate , this task has been entrusted to him , and he has to his credit twenty - six treaties of this type .

Signor Luzzatti is an economist even more than a politician . The introduction of the Popular Bank in Northern Italy and the movement of cooperative societies in Italy is due to him . He was the first statesman in Europe to establish a Ministry of Labor . Both in the exercise of his functions and as a private individual , he devoted himself with ardor to the cause of social reform . Freedom of conscience was also one of his concerns . !

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Signor Luzzatti wrote on a wide variety of subjects . He wears the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor and was elected , as Gladstone 's successor , a member of the Institute of France. When the Italian Order of Labor was created , Signor Luzzatti was the first to be honored , in recognition of his great activity in favor of the working classes of Italy.

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Signor Luzzatti comes from an ancient and distinguished Italian Jewish family , and he has always shown deep sympathy for the Jewish people in their suffering . He gave Zionism proof of his sympathetic interest .

SALVATORE BARZILAI (Photo G. Brogi)

Born in 1860 in Trieste, son of the famous orientalist and archaeologist Giuseppe Barzilaï , who was also secretary of the Jewish Community of Trieste , Signor Barzilaï is known in Italy

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under the name of “ Deputy of Trieste ”, because it was because of his ardent zeal for Italia irredenta that he was elected in Rome in 1890 ; he represents this city as Republican, in Montecitorio.

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At the age of eighteen , Signor Barzilaï was arrested by the Austrian Government for high treason. After being held in prison for a year, he was tried and acquitted , but he immediately left Austrian territory and settled in Italy .

In Italy , he studied at the University of Padua and Bologna , joined the editorial staff of La Tribuna , practiced as a lawyer , and soon became one of the most renowned jurists in Italy . ; In Parliament , Signor Barzilaï devoted his attention mainly to Foreign Affairs . Although a republican

leader , he received several job offers which he declined until the day he accepted the position of Minister without Portfolio in the Cabinet of Signor Boselli .

THE Juce Louis DEMBITZ BRANDEIS (Photo Press-Portrait Bureau)

Born in Louisville , Kentucky , in 1856 , Mr. Brandels has been a practicing lawyer since 1878 and appeared in some of the most famous trials during that period . He was charged with defending the interests of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the United States Government , but it is as an advisor to the American people that he is best known . It is in this function that we have seen him on numerous occasions in matters of decisive importance for the prosperity of the Americans. Mr. Brandeis wrote on political economy and Jewish subjects . .

His election to the Supreme Court , despite the resolute and implacable opposition of " interests ", gave occasion for a letter from President Wilson , in which he expressed how much he appreciated the opinions of Mr. Brandeis in all the cases on which he ruled . Since his election to the Supreme Court and his installation in Washington , he has been one of the President 's most supportive and intimate advisors .

Not only was he consulted on all matters relating

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to commercial and industrial problems on which he is a recognized authority in the United States, but still his sound judgment is sought by the President when it comes to the international situation .

An informal Committee , consisting of Colonel House and Mr. Brandeis , was appointed to study world problems with a view to charting the broad lines of American policy at the Peace Conference . It is understood that Colonel House is studying Western problems , while Mr. Brandeis has been chosen to deal with the Middle East ; His knowledge of the situation in Palestine and his interest in it prepared him for this work . .

Mr. Brandeis 's membership in the Zionist movement was announced in 1913. Almost immediately thereafter he became the leader of that movement in the United States, and soon afterward he was one of the few statesmen in whose hands the leadership of the movement was entrusted.

Mr. Samuel GOMPERS

(Photo without publisher designation)

Born to Dutch parents in 1850 in the London ghetto district , he emigrated to the United States at the age of thirteen , but he had already started working three years before . He is a cigar maker by trade ; At the age of fourteen he helped organize . the International Union of Cigar

Manufacturers , of which he subsequently became secretary and president . .

In 1881 he was a delegate to the first convention of the American Federation of Labor ; the following year he was elected president of the Federation. He has been re-elected every year , with one exception . In 1901, Mr. Gompers was appointed representative of Labor interests to the National Civic Federation , of which he subsequently became first vice-

president .

In 1918 he went to England as representative, or rather, in reality, ambassador of Labor of the United States to his fellow Labor delegates of the allied countries .

Mr. Gompers played an essential role in the establishment of the eight - hour working day for manual and day laborers in the service of the Government , and the

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maximum ten - hour working day for tramway workers . He also worked on legislation regulating child labor and the “ sweating system ” (control of excessive work) .

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L'HoNORABLE Oscar S. STRAUSS (Photo Topical Press)

Born in Otterberg, Germany , in 1850, he came to the United

States at the age of four . Mr. Strauss is the first Jew to hold a post

in this country at the Ministry. He was first a lawyer , but after practicing for eight years , he retired and entered his father 's business house .

Mr. Srauss was on three occasions ambassador of the United States

to Constantinople. The first time he was appointed to this post by President

Cleveland , a Democrat ; the second time, by President Mac Kinley, a Republican, and, the third time, by President Roosevelt, a progressive. From 1906 to 1909, he served as Secretary of the Department of Commerce in President Roosevelt 's Cabinet . Previously, he had been appointed America 's representative to the Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration in The Hague. ; In the United States, Mr. Strauss held countless public positions . Until recently he was chairman of the

New York Public Service Commission ; he is past president of the Bureau of Commerce and Transportation of the National Primary League , and of the National Association of American Social Service , founder and vice president of the National Civic Federation and the International Law Association .

He has lectured and written on a wide variety of topics, philosophy, politics, religious freedom , public service, diplomacy, international law , the history of Jews in America , among others. Not only does he occupy one of the most eminent positions in Jewish life in the United States, but he can also be considered one of the most influential Jewish leaders of modern times .

;

Mr. Strauss is the youngest of three brothers . Lainé, Isidore; Congressman , distinguished economist and philanthropist, lost his life with his wife in the sinking of the Titanic . The second brother , Nathan, made a lasting reputation in the philanthropic annals of the United States and Palestine .

Google

M. BERNARD BARUCH (Photo Topical Press)

Mr. Baruch is an American by birth. He is chairman of the United States Bureau of War Industries , of which he was previously a member . To him belongs to a greater extent than to any other

official of the United States the honor of the success of the cause of the Entente.

The Bureau of War Industries is entirely responsible for war production in the United States, and , upon the appointment of Mr. Baruch , the powers of this Bureau received a great extension . Not only is this Office the production agency , but it is also the intermediary for Allied purchases , and it virtually controls the world 's supply of essential raw materials , as well as essential goods . Mr. Baruch has, in fact, been given full powers over all industries

in the United States.

President Wilson , in the letter in which he appointed him , described him as the universal inspector of all branches in the field of industry. Mr. Baruch was previously a top Wall Street financier . His salary in his current job is one dollar per year.

Mr. OTTo HERMANN KAHN (Photo Happé)

Born in 1867, in Mannheim , Germany , Mr. Kahn is particularly distinguished by his convictional accusations on the processes and policies of Germany , things which he knows inside out , as a man who was born and raised in Germany , who served in the German army , and spent five years looking after business in that country.

Mr. Kahn lived several years in London , where he was naturalized ; but subsequently , when he arrived in New York, he became an American citizen . When war broke out he offered his residence, a real palace, at St. Dunstan's, Regents Park, as an asylum for soldiers who had lost their sight . Mr. Kahn is a partner in the banking house of Kahn , Lah et C'*, of New York.

He is particularly interested in music . During his stay in London he was honorary director of the “ Royal

.

Google

Opera ”, at Covent Garden. He is president of the Metropolitan Opera Company and the Cantory Opera Company in New York ; vice-president of the Grand Opera Company , Chicago ; treasurer of the Compagnie du Nouveau-Théâtre and director of the Opera Company of Boston.

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- Mr. Kahn was made a knight of the Legion of Honor in 1918.

M. ABram J. ELKUS (Photo Topical Press)

Born in New York in 1867 , Mr. Elkus served as United States Ambassador to Constantinople for a very short period . He succeeded his co - religionist , Mr. Henry Morgenthau , shortly after the war broke out , and was recalled early in 1917 when the United States declared war on Germany .

Mr. Elkus is a lawyer by profession and has served as a special attorney for the United States and as counsel to the New York State

Factory Commission . He - holds several important positions in the Jewish community .

!

M. Paur HYMANS - (Photo Elliolt el Fry)

the

Born in Brussels in 1865, Mr. Hymans is the son of a former member of

the Belgian Parliament . He is a lawyer and has also been a representative of Brussels in the House of Representatives since 1900. He is also a professor at the University of Brussels and vice-president of his office.

Mr. Hymans was appointed Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs at the end of 1917. Previously , he had been Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of St. James since 1915. Before the war he was the leader of the Liberal Party in Belgium.

Printed in Great Britain, by Richard Clay and Sons , Limited. Brunswick Street, Stamford Street. S. E. I. and at Bungay (Suffolk).

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Second Document

WHO GOVERNS RUSSIA

STAFF OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

\Publication of the “ United Russia ” Association . 7th Street New York Cily, 1920),

PREFACE

121 East

The present brochure is of major importance for the public , despite its brevity , The question : Who governs Russia ? receives a categorical answer by the simple enumeration of the officials responsible for the irresponsible government of the Soviets. The data contained in this brochure was carefully collected from the official Bolsheviki organs , such as Investia , Golos Trouda , Red Gazette and others . It may also happen that, in a few very rare cases where a person is marked as Russian, he turns out to be Jewish, or vice versa. But the fundamental fact remains indisputable : the Soviet bureaucracy is almost absolutely in the hands of

Jews and Jews . , while the number of Russians who participate in the government of the Soviets is ridiculously low . It is impossible to avoid this fact which stands as a solemn warning to countries and states which call themselves Christian and which believe in national modes of existence , in contradiction with unlimited internationalism in which the Jewish nation is the dominant power . |

Unity of Russia Association (121 East 7th Streel, New York City)

Denominations : Jewish, Jewish, Armenian, Polish, Latvian, German, Russian.

Council of People 's Commissars :

1 President of the Council OULIANOFF (Lenin)........

2 Commissioner for Foreign Affairs TCHITCHERIN .... for

Affairs of Nationalities DJOUGASHVILI. 4 President of the Supreme Economic Council Lounie (Larine)

5 Commissioner for Reconstruction SCHLICHTER

Russian

Armenian Jewish

Armenian

iIst

to Agriculture PROTIAN

Google

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11

12

1 Commissioner 2 Vice-President

TOTAL c.ccsssecnaues

War Commissariat

the War and the Navy Bnon- STEIN

(Trotsky) ......0200s this is suu s roefvtohleutionary

Jewish

has

APPENDICES [

the War and to let Marine Brox- STEIN (Trotsky) .... to

State Control LANDER....... to State

Lands KAUFMANN . to Works V.

SCHMIDT.... to Social Services E.

LiLiNa (Kniggissen).... to Public Education LOUNATCHARSKY (Mondelstam) to Religions

SpiTzBERG

to the Interior APPELBAUM

(Zinovief). to Social Hygiene ANVELT........ to Finance OsODORE GOUKOVSKY.

to the Press VOLODARSKY (killed)... to the Elections OuriTskY (killed)..... To Justice I. STEINBERG........ . to the Evacuation of Refugees FENIGSTEIN..

His Assistants: RAVITCH and ZASLAVSKY.. Out of 22 Members :

Russians ....cooiiiiiaenn 3 Armenians . 2 Jews ..o 17 2

General Staff of ord A. FISHMANN........ the the Justice Army of the 3 Commissar to of the 2* Army Romm . 4 _ policy of the 12* Army MEYTCHIK......

5 _ policy at the General Staff of the 4* Army LIEVENSON .... PPN 6 President of the Soviet of the Front Armies Posenn .. political area of the Military District

GOUBELMAN politics for the District of Military Requisitions

7 Commis:

for the city of Slutsk

KALMANOVITSCH .... politics

for the Samara Division BECKMANN .... csss0 cec aa se n se se 00000 military for the

same GLOUZMANN Division to the requisition detachments in the Moscow district

ZOUSMANOVICH ......

13 Chairman of the Central Military Soviet in Moscow Bnon- STEIN (Trotsky)

14 Ses assistants HIRSCHFELD ....

Google

Latvian

Jewish

15 SKLIANSKY .....20sc0c00 00 16 Members of the

above-mentioned Soviet SCHOMODAKH 17

PETCHE .v.csaccccceccuccc 0s 18 Military Commissar of the Moscow

Government STEINHARDT , - ...... military of the Moscow Government

DOUMIS L....ccssccecce

ns in en ec c00e at the Border Guard School

GLEYSER.. .. politics of the 15thSDoiviseitosnDoZfEthNeNIS Lucscssssanan in se in cec this 0s politics of the 15* Division of the Polish Soviets . of the Military Soviet of

the Armies of the Caucasus LeExCtrHaToIrNdiEnRary...f.o..r..t.h. e SCHUMAN L.2sss 00s s0c00es . eastern front

front oriental

extraordinary for the BRUNO

26 members of the Kazan Military Soviet . ROSENHOLTz. u MAIGAR ... w = NASENHOLTZ......

28 Political Commissar for the Military District of Petrograd GUITPIS L.....222000000000 e 30 Chief

of Comm, Military of Petrograd TSEIGER...... .

31 Commander of the red troops during the revolt A Jaroslaw

Latvian

German Latvian

Jewish

Latvian

Jewish

19

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GUEKKER . of the

- Eastern Front against the Slovaks

.

VANZETIS ....

33 Head of the Moscow Military District Bursus ....

34 Member of the Soviet of Military Commissars P. P. LaziMer ...

R. of the Military Commissioners ELKAN SALOMONOVICH KoLmax (ex- Austrian officer)........

35 Chef du S.

36 Military Commissar of the Moscow Military District

37 Commander of the Defense of Crimea A Zaxe . 38 of the Kursk Srousis front .

39 Son assistant SILBELRMAN............... .

40 Comm. politics of the Romanian front SriRo..... .

41 Parliamentary envoys responsible for negotiating peace with the Germans DAviDOvITCH (military doctor) .

42 SCHDEOUR (candidat)

43 SmiDOVITCH (soldat) ...

Google

Out of 43 Members :

Jewish

Google

:

Interior Commissioner 's Office

1 People 's Commissar APFELBAUM (Zinovief).......... 2 His assistant, head of Comm. Extraordinary. OURITSKY

(murdered by his supporters)

3 Head of Propaganda GOLDENROUDIN .

4 President of the Comm. Economic Comm , Petrograd V.

ENDER ...sccsnasessensasan e ue n ccVsicne-pcrnesnideesnitno0f tehse5 Comm . of Hygiene A. RouDNIK...

6 Comm. for the evacuation of refuges J. FENIGSTEIN.

7 Son assistant ABRAHAM KROKHMAL.....

8 Comm. from the Press Service of Petrograd Voro- DARSKY

(ASSASSIMATED) L.cccsscscacasenancecne0e 9 Mayor of Petrograd G. SCHNEIDER...

10 Mayor of Moscow after the First Revolution Minon....

11 Comm, from the Moscow Press Service KRASSIKOFF ...... 12 Comm, Police in Petrograd FAYERMANN ...

13 Head of the ManTiNsoN Press Office .

14 Comm. of Public Security in Moscow K. Roamm \l.

Jewish

Members of the Petrograd Extraordinary Commissariat

15 MBYNKMANN 16 GUILLIER

17 KozLovs

18 MoDEL ..

19 T. RosminoviTcn 20 DIESPEROF

21 IssiLEVITCH ... 22 KRaSSIKOF ... 23 BOUKHAN

24 MERBIS ..... 25 PAYKESS .. 26 ANWELT .

Members of the Municipal Soviet in Petrograd

27 ZORKR ....0.00. 28 RADOMYSLSKY .....

.

Members of the Moscow Extraordinary Commissariat

29 Président DzEnsinsky 30 Vice-President PETERs

Polish Latvian

Members ;

31 SCHKLOVSKY . P [T 114 32 Kxewiss (plus t of the Extraord . Comm . in Kief)..

33 ZEISTINE ...... vaccs ... PE

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Jewish

Armenian Jewish

Armenian Latvian

German

Jewish Latvian

34 RASMIROVITCH .... PEPE 35

KRONBERG (later Pres. of the same Comm,, in Orsha and . in

Smolensk) .

36 KHAIKINA .

37 KARLSON

38 SCHAUMANN ... 39 LEONTovITCH 40 RivkINg

41 ANTONOP

42 DELAFABRE .

43 TsITKINE

44 E. Rosulnuvrrcu .

:

Russian Jewish

Russian

Jewish

Latvian

Armenian Latvian Jewish German

Latvian Jewish

Latvian

45 G. SvERDLOFF ....

40

BresENSKY 47 BLIOUMKINE (assassin du comte Mirbach) 48 ALEXANDROVITCH (son complice) ...

49 I. MoDEL (President of the Comm. of the Bastion

Tmuhetskm 4 the Saint-Pietre-Saint-Paul fortress) .... s 50 REUTENBERG

51 FiNes .

52 SACHs ..

53 Jacon GOLDINE 31 GALPERSTEIN 55 KNIGGISSEN 56 LATzIs ...

57 DaysoL ...

58 SEASON

59 DEYPKENE . .

60 LIFBERT (Director of Taganska Prison , Moscow).... 61 Vouchers .

62 Zakiss .

63 SCHILLENKUSS 64 JANSON ....

Russians ...

sezears GoOOgle

Polish . Armenians . Germans

Latvians Jews

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secsacees TOTAL c.cussc000000

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32

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45 64

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Foreign Affairs Committee

1 Comm. of the TCHITCHERINE People ...... s. * Russian 2 His assistants KARAKHAN Armenian 3 FRITCHE ..

Jewish

Latvian 22

Google

4 Director of Passports ....

5 Ambassador to Berlin IoFFre ..

!

6 Attached to the Berlin Embassy szu(n (executed in 1919 , while

he was Comm . of the Bavarian Soviet Republic) .... 00csenseneecsencan enesacces = Head of the Press and Service

Office Information for the Ambassador in Berlin F. AXELROD......- in Lomlres in Paris (no

8 Ambassador (unrecognized) to Vienna and RosENFELD (Kamenef) .

9 Extraordinary delegate in London and recognized) Beck ..

10 Ambassador to Christiani: Bau'run (was arrested by the

English) .... ccs 11

Consul in Glasgow (usurper, sentenced by the English to five

years in prison for Bolshevist propaganda)

MALKINE ....0000000e cec cen e e aecrcaccees 12 Pres. of the

Peace Delegation in Kief CAIN RAKOVSKY . . 13 Son assistant MANOUILSKY .

14 Juriste Astcuous (llsen) .... .

15 Consui général à Kief GRUNBAUM (Kjevinsky) ...

16 Consul General in Odessa A. BECK 000000000

17 Ambassador to the United States Lubwia A. CK MAnTENs..

On 17 Ùembn: :

Russians L.LLL c000ec ce n a ccn ec va 00 1 , Armenians ... 1 Latvians ... 1 Jews ... 13 Germans . 1

ToTAL .

Treasury Commissariat

First Comm. .MERJVINSKY (chased for suspicious behavior from the “ Union Bank ” in Paris, where he was in the Commission) . “ 2

-

His assistant DoN SOLOVE1 (pharmacist’s assistant) .

3 A future Comm. Isipon GOUKOVSKY (second accountant of the Nobel House branch in Petrograd) .

R 4 His assistant I. AXELROD ....c.covvnnievnonsnnnnsn 5 C. SacHs (Gladnef), Director of the Chancellery of Loans ..

6 BOGOLEPOF ..

7 KHASKINE, Secretary General ....

8 BERTHA KHINEVITCH, assistant: secretary .

9 Pres. of the Financial Congress . of the Soviets M.- LA'lsm 10 His assistant WEITSMANN ....

11 Comm. for the settlement of Russian-German accounts FURSTENBER® (Ganetsky) ..

.

Polish Jewish

Russian

Jewish Jewish

Jewish -

.

-

German

12 First employee of said Comm. Kocan .....

13 Director of the Banque du Peuple MICHELMANN .. 14 Sacus ...

339

-

Russian

Jewish

15 ABELINE 16 AXELROD 17

SADNIKOFF

.

18 LANpAU,

in Berlin

19 VoRovsky, in Copenhagen 20

* _

Agents

of the

Finances

Abraham SCHENKMANN, in Stockholm 21

General Inspector of the People 's Bank Kaun 22 His assistant GORENSTEIN 23 Comm. in chief

for the liquidation of the former private companies ANRIK - 24 Advisor to

the said Comm. Moise Kovcx

Members of the Technical Commission for the consolidation of former private banks

25 ELIACHEVITCH 26 G. GIFETLICH . 27 A. Rocow .

28 G. LEMBRICH . 29 A. ROSBNSTEIN . 30 A. PLATE

Jewish

Latvian

Out of 30 Members :

Russians Latvians Polish . Jews ...

Justice Commission

2

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1 26

s0

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1 People 's Commissar I. STEINBERG ..

2 Comm. of the Moscow Court of Appeal A. SCHREIDER.

3 Pres. of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow [. BRHMAN: 4 Comm.

in the Senate in Petrograd 8 Pres. of

Comm. revolut. supreme of the Republic BRONSTEIN (Trotskp) s... ccs se

su sn se e vorccuvecs 6 Pres. of the Court of Inquiry for the Revol. Tribunal .

GLOUSMANN .

7 Magistrate examiner of the said Tribunal ENDDNF .

8 Examining magistrate of the said SLouTsky Tribunal .

9 Advocate General FRIDKINE ... 10 Senior Coding Clerk

Jewish

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Public defenders

13 G. ANTOKOLSKY .....00sea0asif u1e4nVe.eKinRifOnsNinOiVf 0I0T0C00He ...

15 I. CITIES .

16 R. Bisk ..

17 A. GUNDAR

18 G. DAVIDOFF

19 R. KASTARIAN ...2.00 000e 0e e se nn ec se nc 0000000000 000000

Juit -

Jewish

Armenian

German Jewish

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WOLFSON ....

Russians ..... Jews

Germans

Office of Public Education 1 People 's

Google

11 Sec. General of Comm. of the CHIRVINB People .... 12 Aide-Comm, from the LOUTSKY People ..... PS

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N

RJeuwsishians .... Armenians .

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18 19

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Out of 21 Members :

Hygiene Commission

1 Commis. P. I. Daue ....

2 Head of the Pharmaceutical Service

RAPPOPORT 3

His assistant FucHs 4 Director of the Commission for the

Fight against Venereal Diseases P. S. WEBER .... arrsessa R 5 Director of the Commission for Contagious Diseases

Commissar LUNATGHARSKY........

2 Comm. for the Northern district Z. I. GRUNBERG 3 President , of the Commission for Educational Establishments

T. ZOLOTNITSKY ....

4 Head of the Municipal Section A. Loumie .

5 Head of Visual Arts STERNBERG ....ssecu se 6 Secretary General of the Commission Mr. EICHENHOLTZ....

7 Head of the Theater Section O. Z. ROSENFELD (wife of

Kamenef) ... . .

8 Son aide SaTz .

9 Director of the 2nd* GROINIM Department ....

Jewish

Juit

1

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THE JEWS AND THE “ PROTOCOLS ” Members and professors of the AcaÂdémio Socialiste

10 REISSNER

11 FRITSCHE

12 GOIRHBORK

13 M. POKROVSKY

14 WELTHANN ......

15 SoBELsoN (Radek) . 16 KROUPSKAIA

17 NAKHAMEES

18 P. I. STOUTCMEA .

19 NEMIROVSKY

20 1. RAROVSEY ...

21 K. P. LEVINE .. 22 M. S. OLSHANSKY . 23 Z. R. TETENBERG 24 GounviTcH

2% LoupBERG

26 ERBERG

27 KELTOULAN

28 GRossMAN (Rostchine) . 29 KRATCHKOVSEY

341

German Latvian Russian Jewish

Jewish Jewish

Hungarian Jewish

Finnish Jewish

N

30 OUNSINEN

31 KoUssINEN *.

32 ToNo SPROLLA ..

33 RosiNg

34 DANTSCHEVSKY

35 GreisEr

36 GOLDENROUDINE

37 BOUDINE

38 RoTsTeIN

39 CHARLES RAPPOPORT . 40 Lounie

41 Rosa LUXEMBOURG 42 CLARA ZETKINE . 43 MenRING

44 Haase ...

Honorary members

Literary Bureau of the Proletariat. from Moscow

Speakers

cn ce uc en a ccs e ce nn en c000 S 45 BICHENHOLTZ .....200000eaec 46 PoLIANSKY (Lebedef)

47 KHERSONSKAIA 48 B. ZaITsEFF 49 BRENDER - 50 KHODASSEVITCH

Jewish

Jewish Jewish

Google

Jewish

German Jewish

Google

51 SCHWARTZ veccssssccne

eaec0ees 52 Director of the Department I. POSNER............... 53 Director of Affairs of the ALTER Commissariat ...

Out of 53 Members :

Russians ......000eesee eccnsn e ce Latvians ....

2

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2 44

Finnish .. Hungarian .

Germans . Jews .

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3

Social Assistance Commission

1 Comm. du Peuple E. LiLiNa (Kniggissen)

2 Director PAULNER ....

3 Secretary General E. GELFMANN .

4 Assistant secretary ROsA GAUFMANN .

5 Director of Pensions LEVINE ....ooovns . 6 Head of the Chancellery K. F. ROSENTHAL...............

Out of 6 Members : 6 Jews

Works Commission

Jewish

Jewish Jewish

Jewish

German Jewish

TOTAL ...20000000000

1 People 's Commissar V. SCHMIDT......00000000000000 2 His assistant Rapus (Zenkovitch) ...

3 Head of Comm. de¢ public construction GOLDBARK.. 4 Comm. of Public Construction M. W. ELTMANN..... .

5 Son assistant KAUFMANN ....

6 Secretary General RASKINE .

7 Member of the KoucHNER Commission .

8 Director of Explosives ZARKH ....lv..oeveieenns

Out of 8 Members :

Russians .... Germans . Jews ......

TOTAL ...cssscOseuse

Commission for the reconstruction of the city of Jaroslaw

-

1 President T. D. TARTAKOVSKY .. .

2 Entrepreneur principal ISIDORE ZABLOUDSKY . ...

Out of 2 Members : 2 Jews

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7

Jewish

THE JEWS AND THE “ PROTOCOLS ”

Delegates of the Bolshevik Red Crolx

1 Comm. in Siberia KnaiTIs 2

Pres. of the Workers ' Soviet of Syzran J. BERLINSKY....

3 Pres. of the Kazan Workers ' Soviet SCHENKMANN (killed

4 Pres. of the Soviet of Mines of Don LIEVENSON. by the Czecho-Slovaks)

5 Pres. of the Workers ' Soviet of Narva DAUMANN.

6 Pres. of the Workers ' Soviet of Jaroslav SACKHEIM.... 7 Pres. of the Workers ' Soviet of Tsaritsyme EnMANN (killed

during the uprising) ......000000000 0 c0000 8 Pres. of the Orenburg Workers ' Soviet WILLING 9 Pres. of the Soviet of Open 10 Pres.

of the Tauride Workers ' Soviet A. SLounx 11 Comm . Finance of Western Samove District ; 12 Comm. of the Donetz Republic Isaac Lauk .

13 Pres, of the Soviet of Kief DnELLING......

14 Son assistant GINTZBERGER (Naoumof)..

16 Pres. of the Duma of Bealia-Tserkov ROUTHAUSEN.

16 His assistant LEMBERG

17 Comm. of the People of the Republic of Donetz RAicHEN-

STBIN (shot by officers of Colonel Drosdovsky ’s detachment) 18 SCHMUCKLER .

343

Office of Professional Unions

19 RAFES 0 scc uc en ec es ce en ce es c se ec cnc 00 L..ucusece

20 DaviDsoN

21 GINTzBERG 22 BRILLIANT ...

.

23 SmirNoFF (professor) .

Russians .. Latvian Jews

Out of 23 Members :

ToraL

Journalists 1°

Attached to the newspapers “ Pravda ”, « Izvestia »,

« Financy i narodne Khosiaistwo »

1 DIN ...

2

BERGMANN 3 KueN ... 4 DIAMOND .

5 A. BRAMSON .

Google

Jewish

Latvian Jewish

Jewish

Google

6 A. TOHBERT ..

7 L. 'B.

GOLINE 8 BITNER ... 9 E. ALPEROVITCH

APPENDICES

10 KLoISNER ......

11 NAKHAMKEs (Steklof)

12 TsTiaen (Iliine)

13 GnossMANN (Rosine)

14 Lounie (Roumiantsef) .

15 MAXIM GORKI £..02 10000s 0e cec es se ec se e cec e saccauss

2° Attached to the newspaper “ Voliu Troudu ”

1 SACHs ... B 2 PoLIANSKY 3 E. KaTz

1 STEINBERG

2 LANDER ...

3 JAHOSLAVSKY

Russian

Jewish

E. FRON

4 B. SCHUMACHER

5 6 LEVINE ....

7 BILLINE

8 DaviDsoN

9 Maxim Gonkt, editor of “ Pravda® ” ....

BERNSTEIN

Your husband ...

3 GoLDBERG

4 GoLDMAN ..

5 V. ROSENBERG 6 RAPHALOVITCH 7 GROMANN ...

8 KOULICHER

9 SLAVENSON

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4° Attached to the industrial and commercial newspaper

.

10 I. GUELLER

11 GAUCHMANN .

12 SCHULCHMANN

13 P. BASTEL .

14 A. PREss .

14 A. Mox . .

16 L. S. ELIABSON .....200000 00000c se cn 00e

Out of 42 Journalists : 41 Jews, 1 Russian Coinmlsslôn d';mquete on the former civil servants of the Empire 1 President

MOUNAVIEFF .....u00onsesensanaasen cec 00000

Russian

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2 Membres SokôLOF 3

IDELsON ..... 4 GRUSENBERG 3 SALOMON GOUREVITCH 6

- GOLDSTEIN 7 Tacer

Jewish

Russian Jews ...

2

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1 SVERDLOF Z SosNovsky .

3 TEoDoROVITCH 4 SMIDOVITCH

5 ROsENHOLTZ 6 Rosine

7 VLADIMIRSEY-HIRSCHFELD . 8 AVANB8OF ...

9 MAXIMOFF .. 10 MITROFANOF

Out of 10 Members : Russians 2 Armenians . 1 Jews

Jewish

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.

Supreme Council of General Economy

1 Pres. of the General Economic Council in Moscow RykoFF.

2 Same official in Petrograd EismonT 3 Vice- President in Petrograd LANDEMANN 4

Director in Petrograd KremNis ....

5 Vice-President in Moscow KrassixoF 6 Director and

Secr. general in Moscow A. SCHOTMANN.

7 His assistant O. KHAIKINA , 8

Head of Department of the Reconnr \lction Section

Out of 7 Members :

Commission of inquiry into the assassination of the Emperor Nicolas II

TOTAL ......covnnnn

10

Russian

Jewish ce c00e 9 Comm. in charge of Reconstruction N. A. ROSENBERG ...

10 Son assistant SANDITCH ....

-11 Head of the TAVRID Oil Committee ..

12 Head of food fish farming KLAMMER 13 Head

of the Coal Section ROTENBERG ..

14 Head of the Transport Section KHIRSAN .

15 Son assistant SCHLEMOF .

16 Head of the Metallurgical Section A. ALPBROVITCH.

KITSCHWALTER ....00<ssc cccc a nc cn se 0s n en nn

Google

Armenian Jewish

Armenian

Office of the Superior Council of the Economic Section

17 KREITMANN 18 WEINBERG 19 KRAsINE .

20 Lounie (Larine) 21 TCHOUBAR 22 GOLDBLATT . 23 LoMor

24 ALPEROVITCH 25 RABINOVITCH

26 KoGan (Bernstein) 27 A, 1. OrCHets .

28 PoLoNskY

29 Bisk ...

30 THE

CLASS 31 Life SchITz .. 32 Kirscu

33 Kruse

84 VICHTER .

35 ROSENTHAL ... 36 SIMANOVITCH

Donetz Committee

Jewish

Russian Jewish

Russian Jewish

Latvian

Jewish

German Jewish

Members of the Cooperative Section

37 LUBOMIRSKY .. 38 KHINTCHOUK 39 SEDELHEIM

40 Tacen .

41 HEUKINE . 42 Krysevsky .

Members of the Mines Section

43 KASsIOR ..... 44 GOLDMANN 45 LENGNIX

46 HoLTzZMANN 47 SCHMIDT

48 SNrT FALKNER . 49 RoUDSITAK . 50 SORTEL

51 Reinsvit

52 BLUM

53 KATZEL

54 SuL .

55 TCHETROF .%.vvovvvvinnnnans DE sesserecceucss

German Jewish

Russian

Google

4 SARKH 5

KLanmER

6 GRONBERG ... 7 SCHEINKMANN 8 RoTsTEIN ..

9 LeviNsoN

10 KRASNOPOLSKY

11 ZEDERBAUM-MARTOFF .

12 RIvEINE

13 Stuson

14 TaPRINE

15 Sculk

16 FaLx ..

17 ANDERSON

18 Vima

19 Solo

20 MicHELSON .

21 TER-MITCHAN : 22 Secr. of the KLAUSNER Office 23 Director RosENHOLTZ

Russians Armenians

THE JEWS AND THE “ PROTOCOLS ” Out of 55 Members :

347

Russians Armenians

Latvians

Germans Jews

4

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2

3

44

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Office of the First Soviet of Workers and Soldiers of Moscow

1 Pres, of the 1* Sov. Soldiers LEIBA KHINTCHOUK .... 2 Pres. of Sov. of Workers and the Red Army SMIDOVITCH ....

200,0000 ee ce s ce n se s0 s000000 .

3 Prey. of 1 Sov. Workers and Soldiers Members :

Jewish

TOTAL ....

Central (Executive) Committee of the Fourth All- Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, the Red Army , Peasants and Cossacks .

1 Pres. J. M.-SVERDLOF 000000

cec en e ccn ec scc nn es Jewish

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Membres :

2 ABELMANN

3 WELTMANN (Pavlovitch)

4 AxELROD ...

5 ZEDERBAUM (Martof) . 6 KrassikoF ..

7 LUNDBERG .

8 VoLoDARskY

9 ZEDERBAUM (Levitsky) .

10 OURITSRY ......

11 OULIANOFF-

LENINE 12 ZiNovrerr (Apfelbaum) . 13 BRONSTEIN (Frotskg) .

14 SIROTA .....vnvunns

15 GiMMER (Soukhanof)

16 RIVKINE

17 Zesour

18

RATNER 19 BLEICHMANN (Sointsef) . 20 A. GOLDENROUDINE .

21 KHASKINE ....

22 LANDER ..

23 ARONOVITCH

24 Katz (Kamkof)

25 FISHMANN ..

26 ABRAMOVITCH

28 GoLpsTeIN (IMine) . 29 LIKHATCH

30 KHINTCHOUK

31 BERLINRAUT ..

32 DISTLER

33 TCHERNILAVSKY 34 BEN SMIDOVITCH .

Out of 35 Members : 33 Jews and 1 (?) Russian

Russian (?) Jewish

Central Executive Committee of the Fifth (Pan-Russian) Congress of the Soviet of Workers of the Red Army , Peasants and Cossacks .

1 BRUNO

2 BresLaU .

3 BABTCHINSKY . 4 BOUKHARINE

5 WEINNERG

6 Gariss

7 GAINZBENG

8 DANICHEVSKY

9 STARK .

10 Sacws

Latvian

Jewish Russian Jewish

German Jewish

Google

11 SCHRINMANN 12 EsDLiNG ..

.

153 LANGAEVR.. 14 LiNger ..

36 SuiboviTcn

37 STOUTCHKA

38 SVERDLOF .

39 SxiLacxa, P. I.

40 Nakwauxes (Steklof) 41 SosNovsky

42 SKRYPNIK

43 BRONSTRIN

44 TEODOROVITCH 46 TRRIAN

46 OuriTskY

41 TBQURLECHKINE 48 FELDMANN ..

49 PROUMKINE

50 Sounupa ......

51 Tsirrsvapaz

52 SCHEIKMANN .

53 RoseuTHAaL ..

54 Achrinasi

55 Karakhane

56 Rose .....

57 Rangk (Sobelson)

58

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Wozacu Tehéque

16 DIMANTSTEIN

21 KNiGGISSEN

22 RosewFeLn (Kamenef)

23 APPLE TREE (Zinovief) 24 KRYLENKO

25 KRASSIKOPP .

26 KAPNIX

27 KaouL ..

28-OuLuNoF (Lenin)

29 Lacsis

30 LANDER

31 LOUNATCHARSEY

.

Jewish

Jewish Jewish

-

Latvian

Russian Jewish

Russian Latvian

Jewish

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Armenian Juit Russian

Jewish -

Russian Georgia

Jewish -

Imeretien Karalm Jewish

-

32 PeTERsON 33 PeTERs ...

34 RoUDzOUTAs 35 RosNg

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ARBITRATOR . 59 Tcyixouns 60 Coumste .. -

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Origiral from

62 Sec. du Committee AVANESSOP.........00000c000 Out of 62 Members :

Russians ..

Latvians

Germans Czechs .. Armenian language . Georgians .

. Imeretians .

Karaim . Jews

cnc nc 000th Armenian

Central Committee of the Social Democratic Workers ' Party

1 BRONSTEIN (T'rotsky) 2 ULIANOF (Lenin) ...

3 APFELBAUM (Zinovief$ 4 Lounie (Larine) ...

5 KRYLENKO

6 LoUNATCHARSI

7 OURITSEY (killed) .

8 VoLoDARSKY (killed)

9 RosENFELD (Kamenef)

10 SmMDoviTcH

11 SvERDLOP ..

12 NAKHAMKES (Steklof)

Russians Jews-

Julf Russian

Jewish

Russian

Jewish

If we add up the number of state officials , that is to say all those who, in fact, govern Russia , we arrive at the following figures :

Total number of people listed : 545 distributed as follows :

Polish Czechs Karaims . Latvians Finns

Russians

Armenians Georgians ...

Imeretians

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43 62

12

THE JEWS AND THE “ PROTOCOLS ”

Hungarian Germans .

1 Jews 12 447

645

We give below a summary of the parties which claim to be in opposition to the Bolsheviks :

Central Office of the People 's Communist Party 1 Jewish REPORT 2 GREBNER $ VILKEN 4 DIAMOND 5 KAUSNER 6 SHATROF .

351

Out of 6 Members :

Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Mensheviki (Workers

.

1 DimanD

2 N. GiMMER . 3 STRAUSS

4 RATNER

5 READER

6 SUN .

7 THEN

8 Gorz ..

9 RAPPOPORT

10 ZeDERBAUM (Martof)

..

11 ZeperBAUN (Levitsky), brother of the above-mentioned) ..

Out of 11 Members*: 11 Jews

-

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NO

.

BEER

Central Committee of the Right Socialist Revolutionary

1 KereNsky (A. Kirbis) . 2 ARoONOVITCH .

3 HOSTAGES .

4 LvovrTcH DaviDovITcH . 5 GOUREVITCH ....

6 ABRAMOVITCH 7 GOLDSTEIN .

8 LIRHATCE .. 9 KsINTCHOUK

10 BERLINROUT

Jewish

Google

Party

-

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11 DisTLER

12 TCHERNIAVSKY . 13 ROSENBERG

14 TCHAIKOVSKY

15 J. RATNER

APPENDICES

Out of 15 Members : 1 Russian, 14 Jews

Central Committee of the Socialist (Revolutionary) Left Party

Jewish STENNBERG .

LEVINE

FISCHMANN .

LENDBERG

SITSTA .

LANDER KAGAN (Gresser-Kamkof)

KATz (Bernstein) ....

FEIGA OSTROVSKAIA

10 NATCHMANN

11 KARELINE

12 MARIE SPIRIDONOVA .

Out of 12 Members : 2 Russians, 10 Jews

Committee of Moscow Anarchists KROUPENIN JACOB GORDINE

LeiBA

TCMIOBNY .

BLEICHMANN

Sunuaue- iIst Suauaun- TAMPOLSKY

Out of 5 Members ; 1 Russian, 4 Jews

Central Committee of the Polish Commune Party SOBELSON (Kadek) .

Juif SINGER

BERSON

FINKES

GAUSNER .

MANDELBAUM

PaNsky .

GEIDMANN

TEUTELMANN

10 WoLrr

11 KROKHMAL (Zagorsky) .. 12 SCuwARTz (Goltz) ...

Out of 12 Members : 12 Jews L

The Russian state is currently dominated by the Jewish nation .

Google

Russian Jewish

THE JEWS AND THE “ PROTOCOLS ”

IN RUSSIA

The High Commissioners of Moscow

Bolshevist real and national names of the High Commissioners pseudonyms of Moscow according to a list published by the Morning Post.

Pseudonyms

1 LENIN............. Oulianoff...

Names

Nationalized

Russian with Jewish mother

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- --=

Jewish - -

2 TROTSKY.

3 STEKLOWF 4 MARTOFF

5 ZiNOVIEFF. 6 GoupsiEFF. 7 KAMENEFF .

8 SOUKANOFF.

9 LAGESKY ...

10 BOGLANOFF... .

11 GOREFF. .

12 OURIFZKA... . 13 VOLADARSKY.

14 SVERDLOFF. . 15 KAMKOFF..

18 GHANESE WOMEN.

-

17 DANN....200000000 18 Meankovsky.

19 PARvoNs..

20 RASANOFF .

21 MARTINOFF....

22 TCHERNOMORSKY

23 PIATMTZKY. .

24 ABRAMOVITCH. 25 LoINTzEFF.

28 LITVINOF-WALLAK 29 LONATCHARSKY. . 30 COLUMNS

321MPAECTLEARKSO..W. .S..K..Y 33 LAPINSKY ......

34 VoBROFF.

35 ORTHODOX..

36 TOWN. ..

37 GLasouNoFF 38 LEsEDIEVA .

39 Jorre...... 40 KAMONSKY ...

B. . . . .

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Lilberstein. ---< Goldman..

-+-- Radomisselsky. ..

Katz........ Furstenberg

Gourevitcl Goldberg. Gelphanate. Goldenbach. i

Bleichmann

Fonstein.......

- Sobelson .. Finkelstein.

Rosenblum........ Levenson. . Natanson. . Axelrod ... Gerfeldt.

Joffe..... . Hoffmann

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Zederbaum. Apple tree.. Drapkine .

- Rosenfeld.

- Ghimmer. .

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Krachmann. ....

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Russian - Latvian

Jewish

- - - - - Jewish juit

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354

41 Naour,..

42 ZAGORSK

43 ISGOEFF...

44 VLADIMIROFF. 45 BoUNsKOFF

46 MANOUILSK 47 LARINE.

48 KRASSINE ... 49 TCHICHERINE 50 GOUKOVSKY .

APPENDICES

. Ginsbourg

- Krachmalink .....

Goldman.. Feldman Foundamentsky

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To confirm these two Documents, we add the following article from the Excelsior (March 14 , 1921), with the regî'el of not being able to give the map which accompanies it :

HOW BOLShevik PROPAGANDA

IS ORGANIZED ALL OVER THE WORLD .

It is divided into three distinct networks :

OFFICIAL NETWORK

Diplomatic or commercial delegations oviets , ae

offices

gnpnlquo « Rosta », stations'russes de T. 8. F.

SECRET NETWORK A

- Multitude of agencies subordinated by groups to this or that

Soviet diplomatic mission abroad .

SECRET NETWORK B

Agencies dependent on a single center abroad , having their own branch and each managed by a Tohé - Ka representative .

The organization of Bolshevik propaganda dates back to 1917. And, a

year later , at the time of the Peace Conference with Ukraine , in Kiev , one

of the members of the Soviet government delegation was able to assure

that the Bolsheviks possessed a weapon more powerful than machine

guns , gas , rifles and artillery : propaganda .

And it was true. Constantly perfected since the beginning , Bolshevik

propaganda has today become an unparalleled means of action . It is thanks to it that the masters of communist Russia hope to get the better of the armaments of the old bourgeois world , and thanks to it that they have obtained results superior to those to which they are indebted to the red divisions . Inside and outside , propaganda is a terrible weapon .

In the words of the Bolshevik formula , " all means are good, provided

gle

that they succeed .” Propagating therefore does not only mean spreading communist theories , it also means weakening the adversary , disintegrating his rear front , shaking his resistance , preparing the victory of the red armies . Originally , the Moscow government had created this organization for the exclusive needs of the interior . It was only later that he developed it and extended it outside .

Here is how it currently works :

The All - Russian Central Executive Committee has a propaganda office

divided into three sections : 1st internal propaganda ; 2° propaganda in the army; 3° propaganda outside . The latter is subdivided into two subsections : that of the East and that of the West. The eastern subsection includes eight groups : China and Korea, Japan, India, Afghanistan , Turkey, Persia, Cautasia, nomadic peoples . The vccidental subsection is made up of nineteen groups : Germany, Poland, Baltic countries , Scandinavian countries , Austria and Hungary , Czecho-Slovakia, Italy , Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia, Italy, Greece, Spain, France , England, Ireland, United States, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland.

The propaganda committee

The central propaganda office is placed under the orders of a committee made up of Zinovieff, Radek, Tchitcherine, Lounatcharsky, Litvinoff, Krassine, etc., and which directs the entire organization, itself divided into three separate networks : 1° the official network : Soviet diplomatic or commercial delegations abroad , press offices , “ Rosta ” telegraph agency , radio stations in Moscow, Nicolaïef, Sevastopol , Feodosia, Odessa, Rostoff, Baku , Saratofl, Kiev, Imerinka, Oren- burg, Chelyabinsk, Petrograd and Kharkoff; 2° the secret network A : a multitude of agencies subordinated by groups to this or that diplomatic mission abroad ; 3 ° the secret network B, composed of propaganda agencies dependent on a single center abroad , a special liaison service and intelligence agencies each headed by a representative of the “ Tché - Ka ” extraordinary commission for combat counter - revolution, speculation and sabotage .

The official network

It would take too long to explain in detail the workings of an organization like the official network . It will suffice for us to say that, from Reval, the Soviet representative Litvinoff assumed the senior management of the propaganda offices attached to diplomatic or commercial missions . The Moscow government believes, in fact, that Reval is the most convenient place to serve as an advanced post for communist action in the West.

He therefore installed everything that could serve propaganda : printing works , information offices , goods depots in the event of rapprochement with foreign countries , and the centers placed under the dependence of

Google

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Litvinoff are, in addition to Reval : Helsingfors, Riga, Kovno, Prague, Vienna. Rome, Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, Berlin.

The attitude of certain States towards the Soviet government , it is true, makes the connection between Reval and the Missious in Europe quite complicated . However , it is ensured either by official diplomatic couriers or by secret couriers . A transmission station established in Berlin allows . for example , to Litvinofr to keep in permanent contact with the heads of mission in Vienna and Prague .

Russian gold , intended to fill the coffers of Soviet missions abroad , follows the same path as ideas : from Reval , where it is deposited, Litvinoff sends it either to the missions with which it corresponds directly , or in Berlin which, in turn , forwards . In addition to the maintenance of the missions, these funds are used for the expenses of two secret networks A and B, as well as to subsidize foreign communist groups affiliated with the Russian Bolsheviks . These groups are everywhere . but mainly in Vienna , Prague and Berlin , where the heads of Bolshevik missions are much less concerned with concluding commercial contracts than with enlisting new recruits every day under the communist banner .

The Berlin agency

Berlin, it is understandable , holds the lead among the official centers of Bolshevik propaganda abroad . Moscow agents swarm there .

The head is Mr. Vigdor Kopp, temporarily absent and replaced by Mr. Youkovsky , special delegate . We also find : MM . Raich, secretary of the mission ; Erlanger, assistant secretary ; Grouzenberg, Boutetti and Lazarefl, members of the diplomatic section ; Chonine, Nicolaieff and Tomson, members of the ethnic section ; Broussilovsky and Sopliakoff {GéleznoM), jurists ; Razviansky (Loustehikh), second secretary ; Boukhmanoff , head of

the liaison: Gordon , member of the Petrograd commune soviet ; Anokhine, member of the All-Russian “ Che-Ka ” and its representative for Germany, minus Upper Silesia and East Prussia ; Ms. Loboff and Ms. Kantorovitch, propaganda and intelligence agents . Numerous as we see and richly endowed, the Soviet mission in Berlin subsidizes the communist paper

Die Rothe Fahne.

It also maintains a red press office : the “ Kommunisticher Pressedienst ” (Berlin , Munzstrasse , 24) which publishes bulletins in German ,

“ Korrespondenz ” spread across Europe in enormous quantities . A German communist , Mrs. Anna Geyer, is in charge of this office .

The secret network

But apart from the official propaganda offices and the intelligence agencies operating openly with Soviet embassies in certain countries , the Bolsheviks possess, as we have said , a vast secret network , network B, - very well organized , extremely active and whose task is to prepare the world revolution . Without it, according to the Bolsheviks themselves , the communist regime established in Russia cannot be considered stable .

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There is a very big difference between the official Soviet agencies abroad and those of the secret network . The former only use more or less acceptable procedures ; the latter only consider the goal and do not look at the means.

The secret network was established in 1918 by the famous “ Tché -

Ka ” . already named, and whose director , the sinister Dzersinsky, still continues to bloody Russia . In 1919, the network came under the orders of the propaganda office of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee , which developed it in such a way that at present there is not a single country in Europe where there are no agents of the network.

We have indicated the goal pursued : world revolution . To achieve this , the secret network agencies resort to all possible means : provocation , sabotage , fomenting of strikes , economic crises and unrest , defeatism , etc. The agents must also provide detailed information on the events . Europeans, on personalities hostile to Bolshevism and, in general , on everything that can be useful to the government of the Soviets .

- Moscow runs the secret network

The secret network 's management center is Moscow , under the orders of the propaganda office and in contact with the " Che-Ka " and the executive council of the Communist International. Its leaders are called Zinovieff, Dzersinsky, Zatzis, Avanessoff, Larine, Kaménieff, for military

matters . On the list of members of the management committee still appear : Kabaktchieff (Bulgaric), Rosmet (France), Bekker (Switzerland), Van Leven (Holland), Lévy (Germany), Rouzniansky (Hungary), Thomane {Austria) , Bukharin (Russia), Frayn (United States), Fruis (Norway), Mac

Leyne (England), Ai-ou-yan (China), dAragon (Italy), Fack iKorea), Mering (Dutch Indies), Aylen (India British), Sultan Zadé (Persia), Copolile (Ireland), Slanitzky (Turkey) and Victor (Latvia).

Seven lines of communication

September links of communications are close to the Moscou centre across Europe . It says : 1 ° Moscou-Mourmansk-Vardoë-Bergen-Hull; 2 * Moscou- Petrograd-Yambourg-Narva-Reval-Svinemunde-Berlin ; 3° MnscouMinsk - Vardovie-Cracovte-Teschen-Prague ; 4 Moscou-Kiev- Gitomir-Rovno-Kovel- Varsovie; 5° Moscou-Kiev-Proskouroff-Ramenietz-Padolsky-Khotin-

Czernovitz-Bucarest ; 6° Moscou-Kiev-Odessa-Akkerman- Galvatz- Bucarest; 7s Moscou-Kiev-Odessa-#'arna-Sofa.

We excuse the dryness and monotony of these enumerations. They

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have their eloquence. Better than any sentence , they show what is the formidable organization created by the Bolsheviks and placed by them at the heart of Europe like a gigantic and fantastic spider's web .

.To return to the lines of communications, the Moscow -Hull line is used very rarely, while the Moscow -Reval and Moscow - Prague lines operate almost non- stop . Between cities with secret network agencies , letters , provided by liaison posts , circulate in the most diverse guises . Reval, which connects Moscow to Berlin and Copenhagen , is one of the most important of these crossing posts and Litvinoff directs it in person with the assistance of numerous agents .

But let 's arrive in Berlin, the center of management of the secret network for Europe, with the exception of Finland , Estonia , Latvia and Lithuania , which depend on Reval. There, an entire staff surrounds Vigdor Kopp; Eydoux, member of the all-Russian “ Tché-Ka ” , responsible for the repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians , organizer of the massacres

of officers in Vologda in 1918; Peters, also from “ Tché -Ka ” , responsible for counter-espionage; Ansky, from the information service ; Spilman, counterintelligence ; Bobrovnitzky, from the liaison ; Marthe Zaralska, known as “ Baroness Nitz ”, famous German spy in Russia. During the war , the Baroness managed to get into the intelligence service of the 7th Russian Army . She became the close friend of one of the heads of this department and. agreeing with him, rendered valuable services to the Germans . In 1918, during a brief appearance in Kiev, during German occupation , she took part in numerous lootings . Currently, she operates in Berlin 's high society . It also represents very well ;

Kopp 's agents

Among Vigdor Kopp's most active agents , it is worth mentioning David Rosenblum (alias Karl Kerner) who claimed to be a translator and who, while being part of the Polish intelligence service , worked on behalf of the Bolsheviks. Let us also name the famous Parvus-Kelphand, agent provocateur of Wilhelmstrasse ; it is he who secretly directs the propaganda service in the occupied regions . -

The center of Berlin has considerable resources . He sows gold in abundance. Its budget is “ colossal ”. Should we not pay an entire army of agents, informers, couriers , journalists , provide for the maintenance costs of cooperatives , clubs , newspapers , libraries ? Vigdor

Kopp , even subsidizes a shipping company , supposedly founded by Russian emigrants , but in reality intended to ensure the connection between German ports and Reval .

Realizing very well that , in certain cases, openly communist propaganda could be dangerous , Vigdor Kopp (real name Kopeleviteh) organized more moderate Russian groups in Berlin and in other cities , but nevertheless sympathetic to the Soviets .

Such is, for example, the Berlin association “ Mir i troud ”

Peace and Work led by Professor Stankévitch and journalist Goloubzoff . She urged Russian emigrants to reconcile with the Bolsheviks and work for Russia , without worrying about the existing government .

Twenty-one letters in one month

After Berlin, Prague is the second important post of the secret network . Only yesterday under the authority of Doctor Hillerson, currently in disgrace, his activity was of the greatest . 11 is the eapital connection point on the Moscow - Paris route . There, the couriers from Moscow are transformed from peaceful commercial travelers , into artists, into

workers , into tourists with their pockets abundantly lined with money and instructions from Berlin on the subject of the forms to be filled out in France.

According to a report by Doctor Ilillerson dated November 18 , during the month of October 1920 alone , twenty - one secret couriers arrived from Muscou to Prague ; twelve left from Prague to Moscow ; eight made the Prague - Paris route and six the route Prague , Leipzig and Stuitgart .

Munich, Zurich, Geneva, Lyon, Paris.

The post of Milan, and not that of Rome, as is believed , commands the Italian sectors . Swiss and Yugoslav. Its temporary leader is Pietro Savanti, and its agents are Luigi Vincent, comrade “ Carlo ”, the pseudonym under which a Russian refugee recently converted to communism seems to be hiding , and Mendelson , a Russian subject who, in 1919, stayed in Lugano . . Milan is the meeting point for agents traveling between Zagreb , Belgrade and

Sofla , between Brindisi, Athens and Marseille , and finally between Zurich , Geneva , Paris and Madrid .

Posts of equal importance operate in Rome, Zagreb , Belgrade , Sofla , Adrianople and Constantinople, all under the general direction of a committee residing at Afldrlnop]e. While being very well organized , the Bucharest post is headed by Chiffer, the head of the Budapest post . But Romania is “ worked ” especially by the Kiev post , commanded by Christian Rakowsky , president of the All- Ukranian Soviet , an implacable enemy of Romania with whom he has scores to settle .

- Zurich post

In the West, one of the best established posts is that of Zurich, which supports that of Paris and, at the same time, replaces it , as is the case during the prosecution of Abramovich - Zalewski.

The London post , under the command of Comrade Rybalsky , also has extensive action . He commands the Hull-

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Bergen-London-Copenhagen, as well as the secondary network Sheffield- Manchester, Liverpool, Cardiff (via Bristol), Plymouth. Southempton, Portsmouth and Dover, as well as the Irish setter Belfast, Dublin, Queenstown. The London post , with its Anglo-Irish sector , is part of the Paris network . ; This Paris network benefits, no one will be surprised ,

from very special attention from the leaders of Moscow . In 1920 , they ordered Reval and Berlin to carry out the action in Paris with maximum energy , without regard to expense . Documents show that the Bolsheviks considered France to be the main obstacle to the spread of communism in Europe and that the future of Russia largely depended on the Sovietization of France .Until December 1920, the center of Paris was led by the communist Parfenenko- Parkhomenko. Since his expulsion , the Humbert Droz group , from Zurich , has been responsible for leading the movement , which has branches in Cherbourg , Brest , Nantes , Bordeaux , Tours , Orléans , Bourges , Toulouse (connection with Spain), Marseille , Toulon, Saint- Etienne, Lyon, Grenoble, Strashourg, Metz, Roubaix (Haison via

Brussels with Amsterdam). Finally, the Paris post depends on those in Belgium and Holland .

A To finish this presentation of Bolshevik propaganda in Europe , a detail which is of interest : a Bolshevik courier with proper papers takes seven to eight days to travel between the Galician border (Tarnopol post) and Paris . There are usually two letters per week . Those in Berlin are more common. They cross the border near Metz at least three times a week . It is these couriers who introduce into France the stocks of narcotics which are sold in the middle of the main boulevards, as evidenced by the bottle of cocaine reproduced above , a product of German origin, needless to say .

L

imeur-manager : L. CLOLX, 17,_Avenne Georges-Clemenceau

Nevers.

XXX.

The International Review of Secret Societies appears on January 1 , April 1 ,

July 1 and October 1 . - Subscription Price ;

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France,.. Strange

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Subscriptions are annual and start from January 1

Price of the Number : 5 francs

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Steering Committee of the

* Review * & * Franc-Catholic League *

President Count PE FRASALLE ; - Secretary : Mr. Pécou ;

Treasurer : M _ GELINET.

Fondaleur de la Revue et de la Ligue : Mgr Journ, Guré de Saint- ;

It is

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Augustin, Paris.

Certain Masonic questions , still under study , can be treated from a different point of view ; we believe it is useful to make these various solutions known , while leaving the authors responsible for reading articles .

All correspondence concerning Revke should be addressed to his Secretary, M Vicror DESCREUX, 96, Boulevard Malesherbes , Panis, xvn®.

Non inserted manuscripts are not returned ,

Letter from His Eminence Cardinal GASPARRI to Mgr JOUIN From

the Vatican , June 20 , 1919 .

-

Monsignor. Ç The Sovereign Pontiff has deigned to accept with very

paternal benevolence the man- * so anti-Catholic “of g bullshit, doctrine resulting from deism,

mage of your new evasion

born him- | meme of the Reformation, doctrine nt inevitably. as we see today , to the negation

of God , to social atheism , to “ secularism ”, an active form ; tural of this impiety , to the greatest detriment of the people, seeks to ban ; societies entirely based on religion and any intervention by the Church. i You were careful not to bring out , despite the lies ,

fight effectively against religion.

As a token of the favor , the Holy Father thanks

them-r

er el & encourage you in your work. wall warn the faithful and help them from what tends to destroy the social order as well as the heavenly , and in

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testimony of His paternal benevolence - grants from the heart the Apostolic Blessing .

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on the Masonic War .

you for the copy that you have graciously offered me , and with my personal congratulations , please. Monsignor, receive the expression of my entire dedication to No-Lord.

P. Card. GASPARKI.

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FAITH AND THOUGHT

1981
Vol. 108
No. 3

A Journal devoted to the study of the inter-relation of the Christian Revelation and modern research

DAVID D. BRODEUR

Palestine and the Victorian Restoration Movement

Dr Brodeur has already told the story of Blackstone and Hechler, Christians who in earlier days worked tirelessly to promote the Zionist cause. (See this JOURNAL, 100(3), 274-298)
Continuing his researches Dr Brodeur has brought together the stories of Jews, and also Christians, who devoted wealth, time and prayer to the cause of Zionism during the decades prior to Hertzl. We are privileged to publish some of his more recent findings.

The Restoration Movement

Some say that the English fascination with the idea of a political restoration of the Jews to Palestine was inspired by the Rights of Man of the French Revolution; others simply attribute it to the rise of capitalism, which had such a profound influence upon colonialism. In fact, the political process that achieved the social and political emancipation of the Jews in 19th century England had firm roots that go back at least to 16th century England. Those origins were consistently religious, and predominantly Protestant, a reality that is as puzzling to Arabic scholars of Zionism, like E.W. Said and A.M. Elmessiri, as it was unsettling to socialist commentators on Zionism like Moses Hess and Karl Kautsky.

One of the first Englishmen upon whom the idea of a Jewish return to Palestine, prior to the millenial reign of Christ, forcefully took hold was Thomas Brightman (1562-1607). This sign-of-the-end times view was supported, among others, by Oliver Cromwell, Hugo Grotius, and Puritans and the great Puritan dissenter Roger Williams, founder of the Baptist church in the American colonies. There were also millenialists in France. Issac de la Peyrere

(1594-1676), a French diplomat, went as far as initiating diplomatic negotiations with the Turks for the acquisition of Palestine for the Jews, the first of a long line of French and English statesmen to approach the Sublime Porte on this ticklish matter.[1a] During the 18th century, writers and poets joined the ranks of the Christian Zionists, or millenarial Zionists as Jews sometimes call them, Lord Byron contributing Hebrew *Melodies*. In England, the movement peaked in the 1840's; in the United States, a half century later.

Many of the early Christian Zionists, like those of the present century, desired a return of Jews to Palestine so that they could be converted to Christ — and thus fulfill Christian interpretations of Zechariah in the Old Testament and Romans in the New, others were inspired by humanistic motives; they were revolted by the continued suffering of Jews in the Diaspora and wanted to restore them to the dignity of full nationhood. Perhaps there was also a third, smaller group, Christian, and non-Christian, mystics and romanticists who, whether they were aware of it or not, venerated the Greek and Roman classical era which ended, for the Jews of Palestine, with their decimation and dispersal under the emperor Vespasian. Two outstanding examples of such humanistic-mystic gentile Zionists in the 19th century were George Eliot and Laurence Oliphant.

Because most of contemporary writers and scholars of Zionism, Jewish and Moslem, today assume that the paramount if not exclusive motive of Christian support for the Jewish return to Palestine was *proselytism*, the Restoration Movement as it effloresced in England during the early 19th century is worth careful study. For there can be no Islamic, Communist, or Third World understanding of the complex, protean phenomenon that is Zionism without an appreciation of the formidable and continuing impact of biblical Christian support.

Although not all Protestants endorsed the movement, it is broadly true that 19th century English Protestantism more or less held the Restoration Movement on its broad shoulders in the manner that Atlas balanced the world. Few Catholics offered support, the Curia being more concerned with preservation of extraterritorial privileges over its several shrines in the Holy Land than in advancing the cause of the Restoration. And then, there was the long Catholic practice, the so-called 'teaching of contempt' to contend with when more liberal Catholic spokesmen opened an ear to the Zionist petitioner Herzl in 1904.

Among more than a hundred Protestant denominations and cults in the United States and England, the majority of which have actually arisen since the first glimmerings of the Restoration Movement, dozens dismissed the Old Testament Covenant of Abraham and the Davidic Renewal as a dispensation that was totally eclipsed when Christ spoke of fulfilling the law and Paul averred that it was superceded by grace. However, there remained those, like the Plymouth Brethren, many Methodists, Presbyterians, and others who rejected the 'New Departure' thesis for one that held, as Paul said, that someday the Jews would be grafted back into the fuller faith: "natural branches ... grafted back into their own olive tree" (Rom. 11:24). The secular beginnings of this long process may have actually begun with the first Zionist colonies of just a century ago.

It was in his letter to the Galatians (see esp. 3:17-18) that the vigorous second generation apostle demonstrated how absurd and untenable is the notion, later enshrined for centuries in Christian Church teachings, of the theological rejection of the Jews. Beyond any doubt, as the world witnessed anew in the first four decades of this century, the idea that the Jews were rejected by God and cursed as outcasts contributed significantly to pogroms and to the Hitler Holocaust by preparing undiscerning and ignorant minds for acquiescence and acceptance.

The Oak Tree Grove

At the turn of the Eighteenth Century, there lived a wealthy, young barrister named Lewis Way, a thoughtful man who was familiar enough with the Scriptures to perceive that the Jews could not be 'rejected'. Informed that a solitary grove of oaks that belonged to a neighboring squire was protected from encroachment by that family's fiat until the Jews had been fully restored to their homeland, Way was prompted to recall a few of the Bible verses his mother had read to him when he was a child. He embarked upon a study of the biblical prophecies relating to the Jews, and became convinced that many of them spoke of a time and condition that matched none in Israel's long past. In 1815, Way took over the debt-ridden London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews, converting his own estate into a college for training Jewish converts for missionary work among their own people.[2a] It was during a visit to one of his missionaries in Russia that Way became aware of the shocking reality of the living conditions of eastern Jews.

Efforts to convert Jews in any great number to Christ, even the best intentioned ones, have never been crowned with much success. And so it was with Way. About 1825, he sold his estate, broke connections with the *Jews' Society*, as it was then called, and moved to Paris where he served as minister to an English congregation. Despite his break with the *Jew's Society*, Way retained his convictions concerning the increasingly popular doctrine of the *premillenial* advent of Christ, the belief based in part upon a passage in Zechariah, that in the end time Jesus would return to Jerusalem to intervene against the decimation of the Jews at Armageddon.

To expound his views about the return of the Jews to Palestine and their crises in the latter days, Way published a widely read series of articles under the pseudonym Basilicus. The articles did much to spread the Protestant doctrine of premillenialism (also known as millenarianism) in England — from whence it spread, in the 1850's and 1860's — to the United States.[2b]

Victorian Men of Action

During the first half of the 19th century, English politicial personalities who included George Gawler (1796-1860), Lord Palmerston (1784-1865), Lord Shaftesbury (1801-1885), and military figure Colonel Charles Henry Churchill (1828-1877), wrote, spoke, and agitated on behalf of Jews in Palestine, and for large-scale Jewish migration to that backwater of imperial Turkey.

In the quaint nomenclature of the English, the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, or Lord Ashley, as his colleagues called him, was the very mortal Anthony Ashley Cooper. Although he was born to high privilege, Lord Ashley stands today as one of the greatest social reformers of the 19th century. By the sheer force of his personality and pen he rammed through Parliament, though not a member of that body, much of the industrial and punitive reforms of his day. Self-effacing, he shunned appointment to high office in order to give the widest possible credence to his high convictions.

A student of Biblical prophecy, Shaftesbury was convinced that a return of the Jews to Palestine should go hand in hand with the completed social emancipation of Europe's Jews. A trusted advisor to Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston, the reformer expounded his Zionist views with such fervour[3] that the agnostic Palmerston took steps to assure the former that the Ottoman authorities in Palestine would respect the integrity of the Holy Land's Jews. Encouraged, in 1840 Salisbury submitted to the Foreign Office a plan for settlement of the Jews in Palestine under English auspices.[1b] And to the present day, historians argue whether Salisbury's motives were religious or political.

Very possibly they were both. Balfour Declaration historian Leonard Stein reports that Salisbury, early in his public career, objected "to the removal of political restrictions against British Jews as an 'insult to Christianity'".[4] A member of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews, Shaftesbury evinced concern for Israel by study and mastery of the Hebrew language, a tongue required neither for the conversion of Jews in England nor the practice of English commerce in Syria and Palestine.

Late in life (1875), Salisbury was appointed president of the Palestine Exploration Fund. In his opening address, Ashley advised the fund:

> Send out the best agents...to search the length and breadth of Palestine...drain it, measure it, and, if you will, prepare for the return of its ancient possessors, for I must believe that the time cannot be far off before that great event will come to pass...[5]

The language here is unmistakably eschatological, that of the pietistic sentiments of a Christian believer, not that of a colonial strategist.

As a former governor of the desert state of South Australia, Colonel George Gawler, on military assignment in the Lebanon, formulated detailed schemes for Jewish settlement in Palestine, because of that region's strategic location between Syria and Egypt and considerations of "colonial and foreign trade."[4b] However, he had motives of genuine compassion also. Convinced that Jewish blood libel charges in Turkish Lebanon might best be defused by promoting Jewish prosperity in their ancient homeland, Colonel Gawler wrote to Dr. Abraham Benisch, editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* (London), outlining a scheme, similar to Salisbury's, which included Great Power protection of the Jews of Palestine. He contended, "So long as the (Turkish) empire stands, Jewish civilized settlement in Syria (Palestine) would be a strength and blessing to it..."[6]

In the decade that had elapsed between Salisbury's proposals and Gawler's, Prussia, Austria, France and Russia had begun to take a closer look at Palestine; the rivalries of their regligious establishments in Jerusalem would, in fact, soon lead to the bloody and useless Crimean War. No longer, therefore, could an Englishman speak of English sponsorship of the Jews in Palestine. And this multi-national 'claim' to a political, rather than purely religious interest in Jerusalem, extends to the present day. However, Prussia no longer exists as a state, and the Russians have political motives that have been entirely severed from their old Orthodox antecedents.

As early as 1845, Gawler urged on England to "Replenish the deserted towns and fields of Palestine with the energetic people whose warmest affections are rooted in the soil.[7] In 1852, he founded the Association for Promoting Jewish Settlement in Palestine.[1c]

Despite their obvious disinterest and even hostility of the Vatican, Italy was not without its Christian Zionists. An Italian philosopher and statesman with the somewhat startling but perfectly respectable name of Benedetto Musolino (1809-1885), urged Lord Palmeston and the Rothschild family to settle Jews in Palestine.

He received no reply. His book *Jerusalem and the Hebrew People* (1851) remained unpublished for a full century, when it finally appeared in Italian.

The Millenialists

Establishing a home for the Jews in Ottoman Palestine received some timely support from a movement that suddenly sprang up among pious Protestants at Plymouth, on the Channel Coast of England. Under the international leadership of their founder, John Nelson Darby (1800-1882), the Plymouth Brethren, as they came to be called, infiltrated the various Protestant sects, including the dominant Church of England, with their conviction that prior to the second coming of Christ a remnant of Jews would be restored to the Holy Land, where they would first prosper, encounter all kinds of troubles, and eventually convert to an eager expectation of the Messiah. Because of their division of world history into several great periods of graduated divine enlightenment known as *Dispensations*, the followers of Darby came to be known as *Dispensationalists*. The new movement spread to America, injecting new life into the rather lifeless Puritan doctrine of the Jewish dispensation at the end of the Church Age. These Dispensationalists (*Darbystes* in France, where they survive as a small Protestant sect) injected new life into the premillenialist doctrine of the Second Coming. For they held that a remnant of Jews would return to Palestine *in unbelief* to await the Messiah and the End of the Age. Reinforced by a trans-Atlantic visit (Canada and USA) by the founder, the Darby doctrine was to have considerable influence upon William Blackstone, pioneer in American political Zionism, and his acquaintance Cyrus Scofield whose notes still appear in the almost venerable Scofield Edition of the King James Bible.

Within seven years of the founding of the Plymouth Brethren (1832), the Church of Scotland dispatched two scholars, Andrew Bonar and Robert Murray M'Cheyne, to Palestine to report on the condition of Jews living there. Their commission pointedly referred to Palestine as the land of the Jews — not of the Turks, or Arabs.

After publication in *The Times* of London, the Bonar-M'Cheyne report was widely publicized in Britain, and stimulated many months of speculation on the subject of England helping the Jews to secure Palestine.[8] In the same year, 1841, the P & O Line opened regular steamship service between England and India, by way of the Red Sea. Passengers and goods had to disembark to transfer to camel trains over the isthmus of Suez.

The Christadelphians were one sect that practised philo-Semitism. This Christian fellowship was established by English physician

John Thomas who had been influenced by the teachings of the Plymouth Brethren. Thomas came to America with some followers, and eventually the group became more active in the States than England, becoming popular during the upheavals and crises spun off by the Civil War, when the group adopted its present name. Today, whenever Israel appears to be faced with a severe crisis, the fundamentalist Christadelphians, who are active from Israel to Australia, set up free public lectures in major cities to champion the cause of Israel and the Bible.

Marvellous Montefiore

It is doubtful that Rabbi Judah Alkaly of Zemun, Hungary, had ever heard of the Plymouth Brethren, when, in 1837 he proposed to his fellow Jews that they exert every effort to get themselves back to the Holy Land. More likely Alkaly's impetus came from the same source of the legendary English philanthropist and rescuer of the Holy Land's Jews, Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885). That source was the short-lived conquest of Palestine by a rather enlightened and progressive Egyptian adventurer, Mehemet Ali (1769-1849). During his long life, Montefiore made seven trips to Palestine, the first in 1839, just before Ali lost his hold on Syria. From Ali, Montefiore secured a charter for Jewish agricultural settlement in Palestine, proposing to the Egyptian establishment of a joint stock company, with a capital of £1 million, and branches in Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut, Jaffa and Jerusalem.[1d]

The scheme never materialized. Wishing to see a strong and stable Ottoman Empire maintained across the Bosporus and the Fertile Crescent, to thwart Russia's old ambition for a warm water port in the Mediterranean, the Great Powers, led by England, assisted Turkey in ejecting Mehemet Ali from Syria. Of course, the restored Turks immediately declared Montefiore's charter null and void.

During the course of his ten decades, Moses Montefiore made several more journeys to the Holy Land. On each visit, he played godfather to the destitute Jewish *vishuv*, pleading, with mixed success, with the Turkish authorities to make sorely needed civic and public health improvements in Jerusalem. Invariably, Montefiore would camp out under the stars with his retinue, his large figure bedecked in eastern clothing not unlike that of a prosperous desert sheik. One of his first successes was a small textile plant, established in Jerusalem in 1849. In 1855, he laid the cornerstone for a hospital in the Holy City which, for lack of cooperation from the Turks was not completed. However, the English patron was successful in establishing both a boys' and girls' trade school for Jews. He also persuaded the Turks to relocate the public slaughtering place or communal abbatoir out of the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem where it had been sited since the days of Omar.[9a] Perhaps his most lasting achievement was simply to persuade Jews that the practice of crafts was a respectable occupation![10]

Montefiore also affected subtle yet innovative changes in the demographic distribution of Jews in Palestine. While he was rebuffed in Safed, he managed to initiate the westward expansion of Jerusalem which continues to the present day. On Montefiore's initiative, Jerusalemite Jews purchased some land in the Judean Hills (1855). It was to wait almost forty years until it accommodated the mosha of Motza Tahtit.[11,1e] In 1860, the great benefactor built a row of almshouses for impoverished residents of the Holy City, on land he thoughtfully acquired during his visit in 1857.[12,9b] Named Michkenot Sha'anamin, it was able to house up to eighty Jewish families.

The right of nonresident Jews to buy and hold land in Palestine was instituted with the revision of the (Ottoman) Land Code in 1867. This was truly the Magna Carta of the Jewish Return. For while the Sublime Porte, alternately pressured by Arab Nationalists and the Great Powers, suspended this concession several times between 1900 and 1914, it afforded the Zionists their principal means of economic and political penetration of Palestine. It ranks, therefore, with the advent of the Blackstone Memorial, the Jewish Colonization Association (both 1891), and the Balfour Declaration (1917). The first rowhouses, built with Montefiore funds, took place under the Ottoman *firman* (charter) the following year. The settlement was named Nahlay Shiva.[14] It determined the direction of Jerusalem's growth for the next several decades, an expansion fuelled by the influx of the first and second *aliyahs*.

Installation of street lamps, and daily street cleaning, did not come to Jerusalem until 1866, and then only because Montefiore offered to foot the bill.[14a] His energies effected the erection of four more small districts, outside the walls, in 1870.[14b] And in 1878, the year that Jerusalemites attempted to restart Petach Tikva (this time on the Yarkon River near Jaffa) the latter day Moses of the Promised Land set up a last residential community outside the walls. The settlers naming it Yemia Moshe, in his honor.

Christian Workers in Palestine

Such prodigious activity as Montefiore offered set a fine precedent for Christian efforts to improve the primitive conditions in Palestine: and Montefiore frequently urged Christian philanthropists to work out new schemes. An example was a settlement for Jews promoted, in 1848, by Warder Cresson, later U.S. Consul in Jerusalem. Historian Samuel Katz has described Cresson's community in the Vale of Rephaim, an effort supported by a Jewish-Christian committee in England, as "probably the first forerunner in modern times of the Jewish agricultural revolution in Palestine..."[8] And Jewish historian R. Fink offers:

> Warder Cresson (1798-1860)...would stand with... William E. Blackstone, not only as a friend of the Jews, but as a pioneer Zionist, whose strain of mysticism and religious zeal, like that of Laurence Oliphant, led him to intense absorption into the yearnings and beliefs of the early Jewish pilgrims to the land...[14]

Indeed, until Blackstone began circulating Restoration petitions, both nationally and internationally, Christian support for a return of the Jews to Palestine was in the main philanthropic and based upon spiritual, not upon political considerations. During the period 1838-1841, two things took place in the Holy Land that were to influence strongly the destiny of the Jews there. England, Prussia and the United States took steps to establish permanent consular representatives; and the pioneering American biblical archeologist Edward Robinson discovered that the names of many of the Canaanite and Arab villages were transliterations of the names of sites occupied by Jews in classical and ancient days. However, the full impact of the significance of this discovery was not to be felt for some eighty years, that is, until after the Balfour Declaration.

To a certain extent, the American consuls could rely upon the intimidating power of the British navy when intervening with the Turkish authorities on behalf of persecuted Jews and Christians. Despite Islam's reputation for religious tolerance, the former experienced many a bad moment, particularly those in the exposed 'window' of the Holy City. Fortunately, the American colony in Jerusalem enjoyed a certain amount of respect from the Turks because of Washington's initiative in arranging a commercial treaty with the Ottoman Empire (1830), a step that did not make the aggressive Yankee ship traders very popular in European ports. Prior to the signing of the commercial accord, the United States and Turkey had communicated chiefly through the merchants of Salem, Newburyport and Portsmouth.

Jerusalem's Emancipation

In the settlement that followed the expulsion of rebel Egyptians from Ottoman Syria-Palestine in 1840, England's Munk teamed up with France's Cremieux to squeeze a compensating concession from the Sultan. The result was the *firman* (charter) that recognized that the *vishuv* of Jerusalem had certain civil rights. Turkish approval was also secured for a *bakkam bashi* (chief rabbi sitting in Jerusalem) to represent all Jewish interests in the Ottoman province.

That same year, the Jerusalemite Jews invoked the *firman* obtained by Montefiore when he quelched the ritual murder libel against the Damascus Jews, to combat a similar charge brought against them by the Holy City's Greek Orthodox community.[16] In 1841, the Turks agreed to abolish the quota that permitted only 300 Jewish families to reside in Jerusalem. However, the Jews there still could not own property; they had to rent the most squalid of hovels from Arab landlords. In February, Lord Palmerston authorized the English ambassador to accept Jewish complaints against the Turkish authorities.[17a]

The situation of the Jerusalemite Jews remained dismal. An English lady, travelling through Palestine at this time, wrote:

> Nothing is more striking than the accurate fulfillment of the prophecies concerning them. They live in a constant state of fear and insecurity; individuals often come to Mr. Young for protection, as in the cases of injustice or insult they have no redress from the Mussulman authorities.[18]

A more sympathetic portrait of the status of the Jerusalem *vishuv* was contributed by a visitor to the Holy City in 1359, who reported:

> ...holes in the ground which Europeans would not have converted into living quarters even for their cattle. The dampness of the winter and the lack of air in the summer brought upon...them all kinds of aches and maladies...[19a]

This account was augmented by that of a visitor who came to Jerusalem the following year:

> The price of living accommodations in Jerusalem is beyond belief, and impoverished Jewish families are paying very high rental fees for horrid homes, the kind which Jews in London would not have rented out for cattle or sheep.[19b]

Such was the price that devout Jews had to pay for the privilege of living in the City of David, for most of the past twelve centuries a squalid Islamic backwater. Like certain elements in Christendom, at heart Islam seemed convinced that the Jews were being punished for some sin, and that the pitiful remnant in the Holy City were little more than a retribution for a divine curse that had snaked its way down the corridor of time.

Concessions to the West

During 1844, British and Prussian pressures had wrung two *firmans* from the Ottomans. The first gave minorities the right to practise their religion anywhere within the empire. The other abolished the death penalty for apostasy from Islam.

Therefore, religious tolerance in the Ottoman Empire began to emerge at a time when Jews were being urged to return to the Holy Land by Jewish and gentile visionaries. It was at this time that Czar Nicholas I of Russia remarked to Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston, during a state visit to England, that "Turkey is a dying man. We can try to keep him alive, but he will and must — die." Sick men can take a long time to die. Turkey proved to be no exception.

The Red Cross Founder's Frustration

A most difficult thing for contemporary Arab scholars of Zionism to comprehend was the phenomenon of selfless Christian men of affairs in the 19th century, who for humanitarian and philanthropic — not colonial — reasons wanted to see the Jews restored to Palestine. Such a man was the Swiss Protestant philanthropist and founder of the International Red Cross Jean Dunant (1828-1910). In the 1860's, Dunant established an association for Jewish colonization in Palestine, advocating the development of Jewish agriculture in the Holy Land, and the development of a Jerusalem-Jaffa railroad which was built some forty years later. Dunant travelled far and wide in this endeavour. Among others, he failed to interest either Moses Montefiore or Adolphe Cremieux, two influential Jews, in his success. In later years, Dunant attributed the failure of his Palestine plan to the remarkable indifference of the Diaspora Jew, an observation that Montefiore himself would uphold. However, Dunant lived to witness one vindication. In the closing speech of his first Zionist Congress (1897), Theodor Herzl referred to the Swiss philanthropist as a true "Christian Zionist."[19]

Clarion Calls

Moses Hess (1812-1875) that rorty, Bohemian Rhinelander, was the founder of German socialism, the movement that went on, in a number of countries, to attract more than modicum of Jewish leadership and membership in the rank and file. Hess was also what some scholars term a "proto-Zionist", a forerunner of the Pinskers, Blackstones and Herzls of the 1880's and 1890's. An assimilated

Jew, with a penchant for French culture, an aspect of his life and existence that he shared with the better known Heinrich Heine, the iconoclastic Hess was a freemason who further disdained convention, and the spiritual tradition of his people, by marrying a French woman of questionable moral character.

When just 29, Hess published *Die Europaeische Triarchie* a bold, imaginative polemic that urged England, France and Germany to enter into permanent political union. Had this brave vision been attainable, it might have conceivably forestalled the War-to-End-All-Wars that broke out in 1914. Hess's most remembered work, however, was *Rome and Jerusalem*. Like the work of Pinsker and Herzl, it was inspired by recent injustices and outrages perpetrated upon Jews. In this case, Hess was reacting to the false accusation of blood libellevelled against Damascus Jews in 1840. At the beginning of the work, Hess confessed that "A thought which I had stifled forever in my heart is again vividly present...the thought of my nationality, inseparable from the inheritance of my ancestors, the Holy Land and the eternal city..."

The Jewish national concept evoked by Hess was based upon a keen understanding of the character of German anti-Judaism. Hess exclaimed: "Even Baptism will not save them from the curse of German hatred. The Germans do not so much hate the religion of the Jews as their race.[20] In light of Germany's eventual adoption of the crackpot racial theories of Renan, Gobineau, Chamberlain, and the Nazi Julius Rosenberg, Hess was prescient to a most disturbing degree! Accordingly, Hess urged his fellow Jews to recognize their nationality in exile, and to strive for a political restoration to Palestine.

Hess felt that the Jewish religion was the only means for preserving the latent nationality of Jews until a state could be established, and the Sanhedrin revived. He correctly guessed that the restoration would be accomplished by a modest number of Jews.[21] Even today, the majority of Jews in the world choose to live outside the State of Israel.

The spiritual successor to Hess was Perez Smolenskin (1840-1885), Russian-born Hebrew novelist, editor, and philosopher of Jewish nationalism. Born into a family that suffered persecution, Smolenskin wandered over southern Russia, and eastern Europe, before finally settling in Vienna, where he was employed first as a teacher of Hebrew, and proofreader. In 1868, Smolenskin founded a monthly, *Ha-Shahar* (The Dawn). In its pages, he exposed Jewish obscurantism as a fraud and a cultural dead-end. He also exposed the pitfalls of assimilation, and other self-imposed traps of European Jewry.[22]

Rabbi Kalisher of Thorn, Hungary, was another spokesman of the practical Jewish future. In 1860, he wrote to Orthodox brethren:

> Cast aside the...view that the Messiah will suddenly sound...on a great trumpet...On the contrary, the Redemption will begin by awakening support among the philanthropists and by gaining the consent of the nations to the gathering of...Israel in the Holy Land.[23]

The philanthropy of Moses Montefiore had, as we have seen, already been aroused. However, Rabbi Thorn left nothing to chance. Writing to both Montefiore and Edmund Rothschild, he "urged them to finance colonization societies, buy land, transport immigrants, set those who knew farming on free tracts..."[17b] A few years later, historian Heinrich Graetz would echo Rabbi Thorn's sentiments by observing that "The Jewish people must be their own Messiah."

Somewhat prophetically, the year that he died, Smolenskin argued that *both* the Hebrew language and religion, and not just religion alone, would serve to secure Israel's future in Palestine. He also envisaged Palestine as the cultural and spiritual centre of the world Jewry, a concept later expanded by Asher Ginsberg (Ahad Ha-Am). Toward the end of his life, Smolenskin huddled with England's La rence Oliphant concerning the best way to effect large-scale Jewish settlement in Palestine.[24]

Temple Christians

In 1868, the year that Smolenskin founded his influential journal, a body of Wurtemberg State Christians calling themselves Temple Christians, or Lovers of Jerusalem, purchased land at Jaffa and Haifa. Originating in 1851, they became convinced that they could make Palestine once again into a land flowing with milk and honey. Failing to establish a colony near Nazareth (it succumbed to malaria), they finally established themselves at Saronia, near Jaffa, incorporating there in 1872. They then established a second plantation, Wilhelmina, nearby, which was based upon olive and fig culture.

Like many a Zionist of the *aliyahs*, some Templers, discouraged by hardship, returned to their native land. Others pressed on to establish communities in Jerusalem, Nazareth, Ramleh and Haifa. According to De Haas, by 1875 there were over 300 Templers in Haifa, and, by 1883, over a thousand in Palestine. On the eve of World War I, they numbered 1,400 in Haifa, having for several years controlled the wholesale trade of Palestine.[25] Some idea of just how depressed was the economy of Palestine during the last third of the

19th century, on the eve of the influx of Christian and Jewish enterprise, can be gleaned from a French-language guide of the day. The guide reported that Haifa, the best naturalharbour on the whole eastern Mediterranean from Alexandretta to Alexandria was a dismal town of 6,000 souls shipping out, from time to time, small amounts of wheat, cotton and sesame. The writer offered that it could be crossed in five minutes.[26]

Jerusalem: New Agricultural Start

The Universal Israelite Alliance had been set up in Paris in 1860, a collaborative effort of the aforementioned Munk and Cremieux, to stimulate and encourage Jewish agricultural enterprise in Palestine. The Alliance's most outstanding achievement, perhaps, was the purchase of a tract at Jaffa on which the agricultural training school that was to assist many of the Hibbat Zion pioneers of the 1880's was established (1870).

Despite the steady trickle of holy place tourists that came each year, the economic situation of Jerusalem was hardly more encouraging than that of Haifa. Historian Ernest Renan summed up his impressions (1861) in a letter to Mercellin Bertholet as "...an unrivalled medley of the ludricrous and odious..."[27]

Two firmans issued in 1867 by the Ottomans, under pressure from the Powers, helped the oppressed Jerusalem *vishuv* to begin to improve its lot. One removed the three-century old edict that had confined Jerusalem's Jews to a small, virtually subterranean ghetto situated next to the leper colony, allowing the descendants of Israel to settle outside the Walls of Suleiman, walls which Krupp breach-loading, wire-wound canon had made thoroughly obsolete.[27] The other firman gave the Jews, and other minorities, the right to purchase land anywhere in the empire without becoming subjects of the sultan. Bokharan Jews from what is now Soviet Uzbekistan took advantage of the relaxation to settle in Jerusalem, in 1868. The picturesque quarter that they built, including several synagogues, survives bearing their name.[28]

The Finns of Jerusalem

Inspired both by Moses Montefiore and by American Consul Warder Cresson, James Finn and his energetic wife undertook the first successful initiative to liberate Jerusalem's Jews from their grinding poverty by means of an agricultural enterprise. Finn was the colourful Consul of Great Britain to Jerusalem and Palestine, and in

1852 he purchased the tract that he called the Industrial Plantation. Later, he wrote: "The idea of labouring in the open air for daily bread had taken root among the Jews of Jerusalem — the hope of cultivating the desolate soil of their own Promised Land."[29] Funds to defray the wages of Jews engaged in land clearance and cultivation on the Industrial Plantation came from England, the United States, even as far away as India. When work finally got under way on the project in 1854, Consul Finn placed a Polish-born Jew in charge of the operation.[30]

Depending upon the level of remittances from abroad, from five to fifty-odd men and boys were employed on the Finn project. The founder soberly summed up the balance sheet of progress in these terms:

> Systematic agricultural training was...impossible under such conditions...Some building, some planting were accomplished; a little wine was made, a little oil refined. Brooms were manufactured...and crops of corn, lentils and fruit were grown. Thus, a few were kept from starvation; and valuable experience and knowledge of the land, crops and seasons was acquired, in hope that some day funds might be forthcoming to enable us to turn this knowledge to account.[30b]

There can be little doubt any more that Finn's long forgotten enterprise helped to arouse overseas and native Jewish interest in scientific farming. It remained a fact of Jewish life in Palestine that most of the Jerusalemite Jews subsisted in a state of semi-starvation. Ultra orthodox Ashkenazai rabbis opposed all schemes for technological progress, including those of Montefiore and Finn.

Thus Montefiore, Cresson, and Finn can be seen as the godfathers of the moshava, the agricultural village experiments that began with Petah Tikvah, and continued with the first Russian and Rumanian Zionist settlements. One year after the establishment of the Industrial Plantation, Montefiore doggedly tried to establish another rural settlement for local Jews. It failed. The Montefiore biography published on his 100th birthday (1875), assigns blame for the failure of this scheme to the fact that the "Jews considered it was not part of their duty to work or to learn to earn their living, and protested that their task in life was sufficiently filled by prayer and religious exercises."[9b][31]

Consul Finn, a scholarly man noted for his work on the remote Jewish communities in China, arrived in Palestine with his wife Elizabeth Ann (1825-1921) in the year 1845. Finn soon discovered that the number of Jews in the Anglo-Prussian congregation was barely 20. They sang psalms in Hebrew, however, and that was a good forty years before Ben Yehuda arrived in Palestine to start the scientific revitalization of the ancient tongue among his fellow Zionists!

Elizabeth happened to be the daughter of Alex McCaul, executive director of England's Jews' Society, the man who had given Hebrew lessons to Lord Shaftesbury. Immediately, she assumed responsibility for the welfare of many of the destitute Jews of the Holy City, constructing a house, reputed to be the first ouside the Walls of Suleiman, and employing local Jews to work the land around it.

According to Israeli historian Ze'eve Vilnay, Elizabeth's "secret purpose...(was)... to convert them to Christianity."[1d,17c] Historian Barbara Tuchman took a broader view of the situation, noting that:

> They organized work projects, not only to give unemployed Jews paid labour, but also to make headway toward land reclamation...though with pitiful results, for most of the beneficiaries were too weak to walk the mile to the field.[17c]

"Enough (supporters) were found, however, to finance purchase of a tract of land, which they named Abraham's vineyard" which she describes as "temporary relief for the able bodied and the destitute." Under various names, the Society for the Promotion of Jewish Agriculture in the Holy Land managed to survive until the British Mandate.[17c]

As the Finns were without funds for transport, the Industrial Plantation, though only a mile or so distant from the Walls of Suleiman, was inaccessible to many of the enfeebled Jews who did not have the strength to walk to and fro from the tract much less perform heavy work. Obviously puzzled by the perserverance of the Finns, fledgling historian Tuchman finally concluded that proselytizing motives were behind these efforts to bring employment to the Jews.

Lazarus Came Forth

As a member of Parliament, writer, journalist, restless traveller, and steadfast philosemite, Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888) spun out several schemes for Jewish Holy Land settlement in the 1870's and 1880's, one of them a joint proposal with fellow Parliamentarian Edward Cazalet for a commercially-oriented Jewish Palestine colonization. In May, 1882 Oliphant promised help to the Jews of Iasi, in Rumania, organizing for Holy Land settlement; later that year he headed up a semi-official English committee of enquiry sent out by the Mansion House Relief Fund to investigate the conditions of Russian Jewry in Odessa and its hinterland. Oliphant, whose exuberance often exceeded his ability to deliver meaningful help, had recently published a proposal to settle Jews in the Hauran Plateau (*The Land of Gilead* 1880). While the scheme was never implemented, it may have helped to inspire the trans-Jordan settlement venture of Baron Edmund Rothschild a dozen years later.

Although Oliphant's schemes and Zionist advocacy was condemned by at least one New York Jewish editor as 'Oliphantasy', his writings inspired Emma Lazarus (1849-1887), whose Zionist feelings were aroused and articulated also by another English writer. George Eliot's novel *Daniel Deronda* had encouraged many a Jew to rekindle hope for a large-scale return to the Holy Land. While not an original thinker,[32a] Emma Lazarus wrote stylishly and prolifically during her 38 years, leaving her eloquence enshrined on the base of the Statute of Liberty. Writing for *Century Magazine*, she dared to assail comfortable, well settled American Jewry for its frequently expressed contempt for the hordes of penniless, eastern European Jews who were streaming through Ellis Island in ever increasing numbers.[33] Her capstone was "An Epistle to the Hebrews", a series of fifteen essays carried by the *American Hebrew* (1882-1883). In Epistle VI (Dec. 8, 1882), Lazarus wrote, with prophetic insight:

> The enterprise will succeed if the philosophers do not err who have taught us that violence, crime and injustice are to disappear from this world, to leave room for nothing but virtue and liberty.

Hounded since its inception in 1948, the State of Israel has yet to prove conclusively that it can survive a truly concerted attack from Arab and other Islamic enemies. Lazarus concluded, however, that:

> A race whose spiritual and intellectual influence upon the world has been universally accounted second to none, and whose physical consitution has adapted itself to the vicissitudes of every climate, *can be whatever it will.*[32b]

Such provocative talk as that stimulated much discussion among American Jewish intellectuals. The *Jewish Messenger* launched sarcastic attacks upon Oliphant and Lazarus, heaping contempt (Feb 9, 1883) upon "Mr. Oliphant's project of colonizing a strip of land in Gilead" which it termed "a phantasy", and "Miss Lazarus's plea for a separate nationality an unwise echo of that phantasy."[32c] The influential *American Hebrew's* support of Zionism, dating as it did from 1882, may well have stemmed from the persuasiveness of the pen of Emma Lazarus.

First Jewish Farming Community

The first Jewish-directed pioneering village of the late 19th century, expressly formed for the purpose of applying principles of scientific agronomy was *Petah Tikvah*, a native effort. As early as 1872, a band of Jerusalem Jews, most of them Orthodox, purchased a large tract in the malarial Jordan Valley not far from the village of Jericho. However, the Turkish authorities voided the sale on the grounds that the purchasers were foreign subjects. It was not until 1888 that Jews would be allowed to purchase land and settle on it — and then only singly.

Six years later, a band of Orthodox Jews from Jerusalem, mostly of Hungarian origin, including a few who had participated in the Jericho venture, purchased land on the coastal plain — probably by bribing the Ottoman authorities — near the Yarkon River. The name Petah Tikvah was retained for the settlement.[1f] While the site was only about seven miles from Jaffa, the fairly prosperous port of entry for the majority of those who entered Palestine by sea in those days, the colonists immediately ran into trouble in the form of malaria from the nearby swamps. Then, buildings that were ill-founded simply collapsed during the first rainy season; roving Bedouins harassed the remaining survivors who returned to Jerusalem. The modest Door of Hope seemed to be closed. However, in 1882, only a year after abandonment of the Yarkon site, another Jewish group purchased land in the nearby village of Yahud.[34] In 1883, the year following their arrival in Palestine, a handful of Russian *Bilu* Zionists went to the aid of Petah Tikvah to assist in its resettlement. However, finance was non-existent, and the people had no knowledge of scientific farming. Then a remarkable thing happened. Hearing about the plight of the Petah, Rishon le Zion, and other new settlements, wealthy French Baron Edmond James de Rothschild (1845-1934) came to their rescue with financial aid.

In 1887, four years after he began to send assistance, the baron made the first of several visits to Palestine. That same year, the U.S. Consul to Jerusalem, Henry Gilman, also provided assistance to distressed Jewish settlers,[35] while his successor, Edward Wallace (1893-1898), a Presbyterian Minister, used his office to protect Jews from arbitrary jailing and expulsion by the Turkish authorities.[36]

Edmund Rothschild, the chronological and spiritual successor of Moses Montefiore, was a towering figure whose contributions have been duly acknowledged by Chaim Weizmann who called him the "leading political Zionist of our generation", and David Ben Gurion who admitted that his Zionist contributions were "matchless".[37] Squarely in the tradition of 19th century humanism, the assimilated Rothschild insisted that new communities in Palestine be the spearhead of a balanced Jewish revival: culture and nationalism. He also agreed with Ben Yehuda that the lingua franca of the colonies should be Hebrew. His methods were autocratic, and his generous subsidies tended to encourage some farmers to neglect their land (these were the pre-kibbutz years). However, without his early (1883) and most generous interventions, Zionism would probably have had many fewer 'facts' on the ground — to employ the favourite term of the latter day generals Sharon and Dayan — before the timely collapse of the Ottoman Empire (1918), and the informal commencement of the British mandate (1922).

Pressured by the irascible Russian agnostic Rabbi, philosopher and dissident Zionist Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginsburg), Baron Rothschild agreed (1900) to terminate his system of direct-patronage-cum-resident-manager, which Ginsburg apparently considered to be demeaning to Jewish self-respect, and to place his charges in the control of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA),[16b, 38] founded in 1891 by Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the Hungarian Jewish pilanthropist with whom Rothschild had briefly co-ventured for the settlement of eastern Palestine in 1893.

In the light of the extraordinary amounts of assistance that political Zionism has received from the Diaspora, and the United States Government, one wonders, in retrospect, what the fuss was all about. Ginsburg and Rothschild had much in common. Both men believed that cultural and religious values were paramount to the success of Zionism. Both were Jewish nationalists; and yet both also accepted the permanence, or at least the continuance, of the Diaspora. Both are reputed to have assisted in promoting passage of the Balfour Declaration whereby England, mostly for political reasons, promised the Jews a "national home in Palestine".[16b] The difference in the two men may have lain in Ginsburg's strong conviction that no Jew should assimilate himself to the point where he could possibly become "Italian", "French", or "English". Now, the Baron was a most cosmopolitan individual. Possessor of an enormous, discriminating art collection, he became recognized as an authority on art. He took his sone James, a future M.P., to England to become a British subject. James eventually became his father's successor in administering the 12,000 acres and 30 settlements in Palestine.[16b, 39]

Multi-faceted and ambiguous, Ginsburg has been claimed as a spiritual father by Zionists and non-Zionist Jews alike. Obscurantism such as that, a trait characteristic also of Zionist theologian Martin Buber, could hardly be attributed to Baron Rothschild who visited Palestine as many times as the indefatigable Montefiore. Despite the continuing separatism of his maverick ICA, the Zionist movement showed its gratitude to Rothschild by allowing him to be appointed honorable president of the Jewish Agency a legal entity of the English Mandate, in 1929.

The Scientific Spying of the Land

Perhaps the most remarkable scientific event affecting Palestine and its future in the 19th century, overshadowing even Edward Robinson's archaeological discoveries of the Hebrew origin of the land's place names, both occupied and unoccupied, was detailed topographic surveying and mapping of all Palestine west of the Jordan River carried out by English engineers in the 1870's. The instrument of the survey was the Palestine Exploration Fund, founded in 1865, and inspired by an English literary coterie established shortly before in Jerusalem. The Finns were active in the venture. Under the patronage of Queen Victoria, the survey got under way in 1874. It was completed, as it happened, in 1882, the first year of Zionist settlement — in spite of malaria, Bedouin uprooting of markets and monuments — in just eight years. Many of the 26 sheets produced were still in use by the government of Israel until well into the 1950's. One of the surveyors, Lieutenant Horatio Kitchener, even went on to English immortality. A keen Bible student, this career officer volunteered for the work which was well served by his celebrated self-discipline and determination. En route to his 1915 martyrdom at Scapa Flow, the mustachioed, mule-riding surveyor — this pompous, woman-shunning bachelor — lifted the siege of Khartoum and provided the vital iron will necessary for England to overcome Boer insurgents who (for four years) rewrote the books on guerrilla warfare in South Africa.

Somehow, the Palestine Exploration Fund has survived to the present day. It commenced publication of its Annual Report in 1869 — the year the Suez Canal opened — a tome detailing its various activities which included archaeological digs in the Holy Land. The last of these was the excavation of Solomonic Jerusalem, supervised by Kathleen Kenyon, daughter of the distinguished English scientist Sir Francis Kenyon. As a guarded, thoroughly venerable English tradition, the Annual Report still appears, a symbol of the spiritual affinity the British feel for Palestine, a bond that goes back at least to the Crusades of King Richard.

Several of the Palestine Fund surveyors published accounts of their service in the Holy Land. One was Sir Charles Warren who in *Land of Promise* (1875) observed that the productivity "will increase in proportion to the labour bestowed upon the soil, until a population of fifteen million may be accommodated there."[5b] Another Palestine surveyor, Lieutenant Claude Regnier Condor, was equally optimistic about what hard work would do for the land. When he penned his account, there was still not a single mile of paved road in Palestine, and no railroad.[40]

The First Aliyah

Credit for the establishment of the first organized Zionist community on Palestinian soil belongs to a White Russian Jewish Zionist, Zalman David Levontin (1856-1940) who, in July, 1882, founded the *moshava* (limited cooperative) of Rishon L'Ytzion (First in Zion) a few miles southeast of Jaffa, on the coastal plain. A scholarly member of an Orthodox family, Levontin was a member of the new *Choveve Zion* and prior to an inspection trip to Palestine established settlers associations in two Byelorussian centres. Upon his return, he convened a group of Russian and Rumanian settler-association representatives who, in turn, set up the modest organization that enabled Levontin to embark again for Palestine with ten migrants. In spite of financial assistance from a wealthy uncle, and timely help from the British Vice-Consul at Jaffa, within a year after its establishment Rishon was foundering, and Baron Rothschild was persuaded to come to its rescue.[41]

Levontin's brave work notwithstanding, perhaps Rumanian Zionists deserve the greater credit, and not the Russian pioneers, for spearheading the birth of what was later to be called *practical* or *labour* Zionism, in contrast to the Great Power soliciting political Zionism of end of the century Theodor Herzl. The Rumanians started to organize for the return rather early. In 1856, Israel Benjamin of Moldavia, an eastern Rumanian province, published a travelogue in which he advocated Jewish settlement in Palestine. Within a year, a Hebrew library had been established in Iasi, the principal Jewish commercial and cultural centre of Moldavia.[42] As early as 1873, 100 Jewish families from Nicoresti joined those from other communities, including an Iasi contingent, and migrated to the Holy Land. The climax of this stirring came in 1882 when the *Hevrat Yishuv Erez Israel al Yedai Avodat Adamah* (Society to Settle Israel by Working the Land), with chapters in 30 or more communities, began to meet for more comprehensive migration.

The Rumanian Network

During February, 1882 when the Russian pogroms were in their second year, the Rumanian Prime Minister declared that his government would support a parliamentary resolution advocating establishment of a "Palestinian" Jewish kingdom. Nothing came of the scheme. Instead, anti-Semitism was fast becoming popular politics in this former Russian province. The major centre of Rumanian anti-Jewish feeling was the city of Iasi (Jassy) close to the border of what is now Moldavia, USSR, and only a few miles northwest of Kishiniev, the provincial seat of Moldavia, where terrible slaughter of the Jews took place in 1903, converting many German dissidents in the Zionist movement to the Palestine-now faction. The year of the Bucharest governmental resolution witnessed the establishment of a new university at Iasi which immediately became a hot bed of Rumanian nationalism and anti-Judaic feeling — probably because Iasi had a large Jewish merchant class which had over the centuries suffered persecution at the hands of Moslems and Christian Orthodox. Anti-Semitic congresses were held in Iasi in 1882 and 1884. During 1892, 196 Jewish shops were closed down and many tradesmen expelled from the centre.[42]

In this volatile setting of eastern Rumania, the *Avodat Adamah* called together delegates from the 32 Rumanian chapters in January and again in May. The second meeting was addressed by Laurence Oliphant, who happened to be travelling in Rumania. Oliphant, whose Zionist schemes were touched upon earlier, promised the Jewish migrants financial aid from English gentiles. Samuel Pineless, Rumanian Zionist leader, secured the approval of the Turkish ambassador in Bucharest for the settlement of 100 Jewish families in Palestine. The scheme was initially endorsed by the Turkish cabinet, but rejected by the Sultan who was irate over the recent English takeover of his next to last African domain![43]

The Porte's November, 1881 reaffirmation of its policy to discourage large, organized groups of Jews from permanent establishment in Palestine was probably influenced by Rauf Pada, the *mutasarrif* or leader of the Jerusalem district (i.e. southern Palestine) who fought Jewish immigration tooth and nail from 1877 to 1889.[44] In the face of this opposition, Rumanian Jews, singly and in families, slipped away to the Holy Land even as Pineless was engaged in negotiations with the Ottoman authorities for entry permits for large groups.

Despite the Sultan's refusal, the authorities relented, and in August some 228 Rumanian Jews, comprising 39 families emigrated *en bloc*. The nucleus was from Moinesti. They went on to establish the village of Rosh Pinnah. By the end of 1882, 1,322 Rumanians were settled. The first *aliyah* was under way.

The Zionist Bilu Experiment

On January 21, 1882 an emigration society was founded in the Russian city of Kharkov in reaction to the terrible pogroms of the previous year. BILU (*Beit Ya'akov Lekhu ve-Nelkhah = House of Jacob, come let us go*)[45] formed when Israel Belkind invited some young Jews to his home to discuss the crisis state of Russia's Jews. Initially, the group called itself DAVIO, an acronym based upon Exodus 14:15 (*Speak to the Children of Israel that they go forward*). Among the aims was creation of "a political centre for the Jewish people." Another was to establish "an economic and national-spiritual" presence in Syria-Palestine. Thus we find the complex elements of political Zionist ideology: political (and cultural) centre, nationalism, spiritual centre all expressed over fifteen years before Herzl's first Zionist Congress.

As its seal, the Bilu adopted the Star of David, the old Badge of Shame, now infused with a new hope. The incorporated text read "The smallest shall become a thousand, and the least a mighty nation" (Isa. 60:22).[46] The Bilu had grit, but they lacked resources. Part of the group wanted to head out to Palestine and trust to hard work for their salvation and success. Ze'ev Dubnow, a Bilu leader, wrote: "The aim of our journey is rich in plans. We want to conquer Palestine and return to the Jews the political independence stolen from them two thousand years ago. And if it is willed, it is no dream. We must establish agricultural settlements, factories, and industry...and put it in Jewish hands. And above all, we must give young people military training and provide them with weapons. Then will the glorious day come, as prophesied by Isaiah in his promise of the restoration of Israel."[46] The reference to weapons was made more than a decade before exigencies forced pogrom-weary Russian Jews to form secret defence units to protect their lives and property.

Dubnow's blueprint for survival in Palestine resembles strikingly Herzl's detailed plans. Yet, the author of *The Jews' State* (1896) professed that he had been completely ignorant of Jewish settlement societies, referring to their oft clandestine Palestinian settlements as a policy of "infiltration".[47] Almost a century later, the regimes of Golda Meir, Yitzhak Rabin and Menachem Begin would tolerate, and promote, another kind of *settlement-infiltration* on the occupied West Bank of Jordan, some of which took place even while Israel was negotiating the future of the territory under the Camp David Accords.

Biblical or Orthodox Jews in Russia, Rumania and Poland provided a significant part of the inspiration and membership of these societies, the most successful of which was Russia's *Hibbat Zion* (Love of Zion), and its spinoffs the *Choveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion) and *Shove* (Colonizers of) *Zion* groups[48] that formed in west Europe and the United States throughout the 1880's and into the 1890's, when Herzl's movement and related societies seized the reins of the horses which were gathering momentum now in the push for Palestine. However, it should be quickly pointed out that all sects and schisms in world Jewry were divided, at the very beginning of the modern return, on the goals and propriety of the world Zionist movement, and even on the aims of these humble societies. And so, while the devout Orthodox lifted his face each morning to pray: "Save us, O God of our salvation and gather us together and deliver us from the nations", with many of them piety and humility demanded that they should act only at the behest of the Almighty. *Next year in Jerusalem* really meant *some day* in Jerusalem...

Soon after its establishment, the Bilu society moved its headquarters from Kharkov to the Black Sea port of Odessa, the embarcation place for Palestine. However, serious schisms arose amongst its members. One branch advocated immediate departure for *Eretz Yisrael*. Another party contended that no settlements should be attempted until official permission and guarantees could be obtained from the Ottomans. Still other factions arose. The result was that the Bilu became too ineffective in order to have any prospect of becoming a powerful influence upon Palestinian settlement. The *political-guarantee-first* splinter hurried off to Constantinople where it consulted with the Oliphant Commission that had come out to investigate ways to alleviate the sufferings of Russia's Jews.

Impatient with bureaucratic delays and nebulous promises of assistance from English fact-finding commissions,[49] the *Palestine-now* Bilu splinter sailed from Constantinople on June 29,[50] reaching Jaffa on July 6. A handful of the tiny group of *Biluyim*, as they styled themselves, immediately offered themselves as labourers at the Mikve Israel agricultural school at Jaffa. Others, encouraged by Charles Netter, a Jaffa resident, a founder of the Universal Israelite Alliance, pressed on to help out at Rishon L'Ytzion, a Russian community established that same month. Unfortunately, Zionist historians are unable to establish an exact date for the establishment of Rishon, whose group, as earlier mentioned, was led by David Levontin.

Zionist historians do not agree on exactly what role Judaism played in the Bilu motivation. Howard Sachar describes them as "all...young men in their teens and early twenties" who "combined Marxist zeal with Jewish nationalist fervour". Yet he acknowledges that the petitioners of the Porte ended an appeal to their brethren with "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One, and our land, Zion, is our only hope." The Palestinian Bilu appealed to the *Cheveve Zion* society for help, but failed to gain steady support. The Russian Bilu withered for lack of interest. And in 1884 the Palestine Bilu numbered just 28 members. However, encouraged by linguist Eliezer Ben Yehuda, with whom they celebrated the Passover that year, the Bilu struggled with Hebrew and sang Hebrew songs. A remnant at Constantinople, petitioners of the sultan who had returned to Russia, moved on to Palestine. Still other Bilu proceeded to the United States.

The Palestine Bilu were given timely assistance by the writer and teacher of religious Zionism Yehiel Pines (1843-1913). With the help of Pines, Gederah, the first all-Bilu community was established, in December, 1884.[51] A native of Belorussia, Pines had settled in Jerusalem in 1878, persuaded to go to the Holy Land for the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund which, as mentioned, had built several housing quarters for Jews outside the walls of Suleiman.[52]

In 1882, the year of Rishon-Le-Zion, the total Jewish population of Palestine was barely 25,000, even though Jerusalem claimed to be half Jewish.[53] According to historian Jacob de Haas, some 7,000 Jews settled in Palestine, more than half of these in Jerusalem.[54] In fact, as early as 1844, an Ottoman census revealed that there were 2,000 more Jews than Moslems living in the Holy City.[55] Some portion of the dramatic pre-aliyah increase should be credited to improved public health conditions — to the Christian and Jewish clinics independently established in Palestine after 1860, to the loosening up of oppressive Ottoman regulations (also the work of Christian compassion and enterprise — some of it with political but hardly proselytizing motives), and the stimulus afforded to both Turkish and Jewish development by the wondrous Palestinian topographic survey.

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Establishment of the Aryan Empire - that is the aim of the German nationalist movement, which is now trying to stir up broad masses of German patriotism through feverishly increased written and oral propaganda. In the "Judas Schuldbuch" (Judas Book of Debt), Wilhelm Meister dreams longingly of the great moment when "Emperor Whitebeard" will once again emerge from the Kysshäuser with his baladins. The text "Semi-Imperator" raves about the "tremendous power" that lies in the imperial power, and it already greets in spirit the "enlightened one", the truly divinely blessed one with Bismarck's spirit and genuine Germanic strength". Under the right leadership, this imperial power will surely work miracles again. According to the German nationalist belief, the German emperor must be born of Germanic, Aryan blood; for everything that has even the slightest trace of Jewish blood goes with Judaism.

Aryan Empire! Yes, are the Wilhelms, Friedrichs, Ernsts, Georgs, etc. still purely Aryan? Semi-Imperator investigates this question and believes he can establish that Jewish blood found its way into even the most glorious of all royal houses through Constance, the wife of the Hohenstaufen Henry VI. Constance is said to be a Bierleoni, a prince's daughter from the Jewish coin-changer family of Jordan Pier Leon. Her blood flowed into the first Roman royal families and into many families of the highest nobility in Italy and other countries. And in female descent, according to university professor Frhr. v. Dungern's blood can be proven to have passed on in all German royal families." (Semi-Imperator.) In all royal families, note this word! The Hohenzollerns also received a new strong Jewish blood influence through the Toburg-English relationship. Through Eduard's sister Viktoria, 1840-1901, who became the wife of the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm in 1858, the Coburg blood (according to the assumption, in the best case with a beer part, in the less favorable case with three-eighths Jewish influence) also came into the Hohenzollern family."

According to the German nationalist view, every drop of Jewish blood brings terrible degeneration into the Aryan being. Judaism is like a "contagious disease". A single Best Frank can bring the plague to many thousands of healthy people (Fritsch)*). A drop of Jewish bloodPreview

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can ruin entire races. In the epilogue to Semi-Imperator, Wilhelm II is characterized as a Jewish offspring as follows: "Wilhelm II, the unfortunate know-it-all who was unable to overcome the southern element in himself; his Jewish twist" intellect instead of Aryan spirit, arrogant posturing as a cover for cowardice, shallow, resentful, frivolous, proud of money, untruthful, made", un-imperial, boyish, pathological, impulsive, Byzantine-ingratiating, difficult to teach, easily fooled, posing as "50 Jewish friends", skilled only in talking himself out, self-idolatry, Jewish mimicry and wanderlust: travel emperor! an un-German semi-(imp.) rex who let us rule Jewishly: sub auspiciis daemonis inferni "ischariotism". Wilhelm II's madness, flickering, unstable attitude, weakness and giving in to the Jews, the cowardly see-saw politics, undignified following of the Americans, etc., and his despotism rooted in Jewish Asiatism, became our misfortune."

The German Crown Prince, as a descendant of Jews, is deemed completely unworthy of succession to the throne. "Blood," notes "Semi-Imperatot," is running after blood: driving at top speed with Miss Kahn (!) from Esch in Luxembourg was certainly the most pleasant and enjoyable part of his work as "Commander of the 5th Army"! According to "Semi-Imperator," the "Germanic race" has been completely corrupted by Jewish blood in the Hohenzollerns; and therefore this Judaized ruling family is declared to have lost its right to the throne forever. "The Christian Germanic kingdom by the grace of God has been desecrated by Jewish bastardization, the main imperial line of the Hohenzollerns has been denationalized by the infiltration of foreign blood and thus devalued for all time; it must never again be allowed to become German Emperor. With the infiltration of Jewish blood, their rights of legitimacy towards the German people have become an inherited injustice and thus their hereditary rights have been forfeited and extinguished for all eternity."

Which German sovereign, after even the Hohenzollerns have shown themselves to be afflicted with the "Semitic plague", can still stand up to the pure Germanic people before the strict judging eye of the German nationalist race? This "Judaized" Constance has corrupted the blue blood of all royal families. And now the German nationalists may have the courage to declare the "hereditary rights" of all German princes forfeited. But that is not all! The paladins of these princes, the nobles, have also fallen victim to the horrific Jewish blood corruption! So out with the Judaized nobility! The "aristocratic-Jewish alliance list" shows

over 2000 (more or less Judaized by about 300 Jewish women)

noble families. If you go to the Jewish-corrupted German

nobility nor the Jewish and "Judaized" bourgeois intellectuals and

who are related to Judaism by marriage or at least

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economically welded bankers and manufacturers, one gets a truly monstrous idea of the extent of the Jewish population. The German nationalists make a terrible calculation:

Everyone in this country is related to Israel in one way or another. (Goethe.)

A horrifying perspective opens up to us here, because "the Jewish essence," as Theodor Fritsch tells us in his "Handbook of the Jewish Question," is the complete reversal of civilized, honorable humanity. The Jew turns all concepts on their head, he despises what is sacred to others and glorifies what is immoral and corrupt. The basic feature of Judaism is "hatred of mankind and hostility to morals." Truly, if this characteristic of Judaism is correct and Judaism acts like a "contagious disease," then bourgeois society would have to be a horribly stinking plague corpse. But even the sharpest socialist criticism of bourgeois society has openly and freely recognized the miraculous achievements of technology and the gigantic organizations of this capitalist society. And as a capitalist organizer of creative power, Werner Sombart was certainly not a philosemite who formally celebrated the Jew. Fritsch, on the other hand, accuses the Jews of having brought confusion into all things and of having falsified the feelings and thoughts of the people to the point of complete perversity. For him, the Jews are "devils in human form." "I recognize Yahweh as the evil spirit and the Jews, to use the language of the Bible, as the children of the devil." Perhaps Fritsch also perceives the sulfurous smell of hell in the "Judaized" nobility of Dstelbia? When this nobility expropriated the East Elbian peasant class with almost perverse greed, enslaved them and transformed peasant land into large knightly estates, was there "devil's" blood in them? What "perversity" of East Elbian noble feelings and thoughts, isn't it, Mr. Fritsch? Oh no, with such phrases Fritsch is only bombarding Judaism and thereby unleashing a dangerous hehe which, with the completely unrestrained poison gas manufacturers of the German nationalist party, is degenerating into murder and propaganda for the Jews. "You are doing a great job with the Jews," shouts the German People's Council Dr. Heinrich Pudor, Leipzig, "You don't provoke beasts, you kill them.") On to the

Killing, on to open battle against the blue suckers."2) "The lag is approaching, the red day, for all Judas brothers!

Then you hit her, so pale and vague.

like mad dogs."*)

Hand- and advertising leaflet No. 3 German Voltsrat", Leipzig. Leipzig. From a leaflet of the German Association for Truth, Bolks

4) enlightenment and public health" (E. V.!!) Leipzig, E. Behrs Verlag. 3) Verse from the poem "How it comes" (Lot von Juda) as a postcard

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Only insane dervishes can rage

This mad bloodlust is not only directed against the Jews, but also against the believers in the democratic-republican idea. The Miesbacher Anzeiger directly threatened the leader of the Bavarian Social Democrats, Erhard Auer, with the banishment of the people, treated him as a convicted criminal against the national cause and openly recommended the criminal methods of fascism against all traitors to the people. The assassination attempt on Auer also came from German nationalist circles, and after this assassination attempt, the Munich organ of the German nationalists, the Völkischer Beobachter, openly mocked the Bavarian party leader in the article: "The assassinated Auer or give us the martyr's throne."

In Auer's trial against the editor of the Völkischer Observer, Dietrich Ecdart, on January 26, 1922, Auer asked the defendant these questions:

Do you know that on October 19th, after a meeting of the National Socialists in the Circus Krone, a demonstration of 400 people took place in front of my apartment, uttering the wildest threats? Do you know that the Storm Troopers of the National Socialist Party, whose leader is a certain Fürmann, who has been mentioned several times recently, have repeatedly taken a position on the question of how to get rid of Auer?" Edart interrupted that this was not true, because he should know. The defendant was somewhat embarrassed when Auer asked the question: "What exactly is this Storm Troopers for?"

From propaganda for murder, they moved on to murder. In Munich, the independent socialist MP Gareis was shot, and the murderer was sought in German nationalist secret organizations. In Munich, MP Sänger was attacked by a German nationalist, National Socialist leader, and the police did not find this man, but the Social Democrats did. In Munich, Dr. Hirschfeld was beaten up by German nationalist scoundrels, and the police also did not investigate the scoundrels who had attacked the Berlin doctor. In Munich, Erzberger's murderers were in close contact with the local secret organizations. The Munich police chief Pöhner favored the

He allowed the most provocative posters to be displayed and therefore drew the most violent accusations even from very moderate democratic representatives in the Bavarian state parliament.

days to.

In Munich, German-speaking combat battalions were formally formed

against the Jewish government of the Reich. Their organization

sation consists of Kapp putschists like Captain Berthold.

who was one of the most active agents of monarchist subversion.

Ludendorff supported Kapp's revolt. Under his leadership

It ended in the conflict instigated by Ehrhardt, Bauer and Bischof and

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The following letter from a Lieutenant M. dated 11 February 1920, which characterises the connection between Sudenhege and the republican coup, was found in the archives:

Hopefully the coming dictator will not forget to declare the Jews outlawed - one night is enough to wipe out these dogs. I have already created a black list so that the right people are killed, because some non-

Jews in abundance." The national protection and alliance is throughout the empire (Bavaria

But who believes that with its dissolution the nationalist movement is also finished? Where are the millions of pamphlets with nationalist content, where are their publishers, their smearers and peddlers and their itinerant speakers? Are not new millions being spent on this hatred?

Behind the nationalist attire and protective mask, the reflective face grins. Who recommends anti-Semitic literature? Lubendorff, who may be a useful general in a pinch, but has only a cadet's understanding of the deep social problems. He uses the comfortable existence that the millions of dollars his Swedish publisher paid him for his memoirs to scare himself and his advisors with anti-Semitic horror literature. "The Secrets of the Elders of Zion," which he praises, is a blatant forgery by nationalist hands, adapted from the Russian forgery of a Frenchman's originally not at all anti-Semitic diatribe against Napoleon

III. The great general firmly blows the Valiant horn: "There is no doubt about the collaboration of Jews living in Germany with our enemies. Only Germany's defeat could bring them the fulfillment of their national wishes." (Ludendorff: Warfare and Politics. 5. 191 and 192.) Now, gamblers and those who swindle their honour are worth one another. But further: who utters anti-Semitic curses? "Our great" emperor, the "Judaized" emperor! of Amerongen! Then Herr Kunze, the club-wielding Kunze. He ingratiates himself with Stinnes, and Stinnes replies that he agrees with him on many points, because Kunze assures him that he will lead the workers back onto the right path, if only he is well supported.) So that is the achievement without which Herr Stinnes has no interest in the nationalist movement. Herr Wulle

He throws himself at the agrarians, asking them to give him money for the nationalist idea because his newspaper is such an excellent means of influencing the rural workers nationally." "The people (!!)

receive the newspaper from us (namely Mr. Wulle) without knowing who ordered and paid for it." But in his own words, Friedrich Wilhelm, Prince of Prussia, advertises in his own handwriting, with the best

*) Correspondence between Hugo Stinnes and the managing director of the readership of the "Deutsches Wochenblatt" (editor Richard Kunze).

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Greetings as a very devoted one", for subscribers and shareholders (and therefore not even for advertisements) for the "Deutsche Zeitung". It had represented the views of the independent nationalist circles in the noblest (!!) and bravest way". Finally, the traitor Ehrhardt even starts a scheme to finance the monarchy in a good nationalist way.

Who is making "ethnic" politics? The German nationalist Bartel. Who pays for the ethnic press? The German National Party in part. And why? Because the demagogic anti-Semitic spectacle will "make the election campaign for the German National People's Party much easier.") The election campaign? The supposed reactionary victory over the Jewish Republic.

If it were up to the folks, we would have finally reached the pinnacle of development: for centuries, peoples have searched in vain for the causes of their misfortune, without ever being able to determine them with certainty. Now the folks have solved the world's biggest problem: just throw out the Jews, and all the misery will end.

The pompous nationalistic phrases about the "Jewish Republic" do not work for the German working class. The working class has been through a harder but better political school than the German nationalist bourgeoisie. Since the beginning of the capitalist revolution, it has been up to its neck in misery and poverty. For more than a hundred years it has been concerned with the causes of its economic and political servitude in order to find ways and means to eliminate it. The working class knows the history of the origins of capitalism. It is informed about the greedy interventions of the territorial rulers, the princes, in the common property and about the expropriation of the peasants by the nobility. They know that capitalist large-scale property could only arise after the producer was separated from his means of production. They have studied the history of the enslavement of blacks and gained deep insights into the atrocities of early colonizing capitalism. The formal murder of children in the first large factories in England spoke vividly to their sense of humanity. The anti-Semitic lie that the Jews alone were responsible for the entire misery of the proletariat was recognized by the workers early on. The nationalist Bibles and secret writings never moved the heads of the workers.

workers dizzy. They ask themselves coolly: Is the imagination of the Bolkisch people bigger than their mouths? The "ingenuity" of the Völkisch people knows no boundaries.

They build true Babylonian towers of hypotheses. They construct themselves arbitrarily as "the Jewish god Yahweh", label the son

*) Compare the speech of MP Hergt on 27 September 1919 at the Pomeranian State Party Congress.

Davids" to be a pure Aryan, then suddenly roll their eyes and throw a veritable nationalistic fit. Meanwhile, they have enough time and energy to write a nationalistic pamphlet in which they expose Jewish "shameful deeds". The louder such a Bolkisch shouts, the more respected he is. Anyone who refuses to acknowledge the nationalistic "truths" is a "scum" or is "Jewish" or "Jewified". Anyone who very modestly seeks proof of one of the "complete truths" is also a "Jew", etc. The more often a complete lie is repeated, the truer it naturally becomes. When it has been printed a hundred thousand times, even the most well-founded proof that it is a lie is of no use.

The nationalists appeal to the “German-blooded” and the “Aryan” race.

Even serious advocates of the "German-blooded" salvation

doctrine today handle the Aryan, the Indo-European racial concept,

as if it were rooted in irrefutable, established facts. The following, often quoted words of the linguist Max Müller are to support this doctrine: "For me, an ethnologist who speaks of the Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic (long-headed) or a brachycephalic (short or round-headed) grammar. It is worse than the Babylonian confusion - indeed, it is downright fraudulent. When I speak of Aryans, I mean neither blood nor bones, neither hair nor skulls. By this I mean simply those who speak an Aryan language." R. Hartmann emphasises that he does not consider the Aryans to be an original people, but an invention of the study. Professor von Luschan vigorously opposed the widespread misconception that the Celtic-Slavic-Germanic group, together with the southern European Italians and Hellenes, and even with the Asian Armenians, Iranians and Indians, formed an anthropologically uniform basic race, the Indo-European or Aryan race. He wrote this motto in the family book for the Aryan cash register fanatics: "There is no Aryan race corresponding to the Indo-European language family, and the peoples who speak the Indo-European language today belong to very numerous and completely different races. The enthusiasm with which people once endeavoured to reconstruct a common original form of the Indo-European languages and to return to this original form The idea of a racially pure, original Aryan has long since given way to more extreme views. Only the most incurable chauvinists still talk about an Aryan race and

For the expert, the concept of an Aryan skull shape is just as absurd as if one wanted to talk about a dolichocephalic (long-headed) language" (Zolschan).

Wanting to found the German Empire on pure Aryans would mean striving to realize a completely unrealistic utopia,

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especially if one were to refer to the Aryan race of people only as the "murderous-haired, long-headed Germanic people" who, according to Woltmann, are said to have created everything that has ever existed in the past and present in terms of cultural values. Should all short or round heads be thrown out of this empire because they deviate from the ideal Germanic type, or should they only be allowed to remain in Germany on the condition that they allow themselves to be ruled and exploited in complete subservience by the "Germanic" race, the only culture-creating race? Do people today want to play off the Germanic against the Slav, the Aryan against the Semite, in the name of the sanctity of the race, and completely tear our fatherland apart through artificially constructed racial antagonisms! May the pure blond-haired, long-headed Germanic people" - the percentage of dark-haired, short or round-headed "Germanic people" is truly very high - never forget that Prussia and Germany are above all a colonized Slavic country and that our German Abel already has a good dose of Slavic and Fued blood in his veins.

There has never been any solid basis in reality behind the terms Aryan Halfertum and Aryan Raiserreich. Even the old empire was never Aryan in the sense of the racial idea, and it will never return as a state entity, as a political organization with a privileged aristocratic and military caste and an overly powerful capitalist class. The empire of Bismarck's violent creation is a per.

common institution, born of history and swallowed up by history. The sanatic "German-blooded" enthusiasts for the Aryan Empire

They only spread their anti-Semitic flag in order to gather under it everything in Germany that feels and thinks reactionary. With their Bogrom cries they try to awaken the wildest instincts in the people. They lay all the blame for the tragic fate of the German people on the Jews.

Generally, people only run machines for one purpose; either they manufacture needles or buttons. But the ethnic man pours all the waste of the world into his machine, no matter how much, brews it with the "ethnic conscience" and, lo and behold, the Jew jumps out. There is no nonsense that they have not processed into anti-Semitic factory goods. Judaism must be shown to be an all-destructive element that destroys natural reason and healthy morality. And that is why the Germans are crying out

völkischen all over the world:

1. The Jews are a bunch of people with a double moral code[**]. 2. The Jews are a "parasitic plant".")

Fritsch: "The False God", 8th edition, p. 80. Otto Hauser: Race and National Issues in Germany 5 103

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In his Handbook of the Jewish Question, Mr. Fritsch prints a report from the Kölnische Zeitung in which the parasitic plant is described as follows: "Without Jews, one could not live in Romania. The most indispensable manual labor could not be obtained, and wealthy people who do not want Jews as servants have to get hold of Greeks, Serbs, Hungarians or Germans. To the Romanians of a better kind, trade is just as disgraceful as wage labor. The Jews who have to do hard physical work and vegetate in the saddest proletarian conditions number in the millions. Seven eighths of Jews have to fight against poverty according to customs. Large groups of Eastern European Jews live in the bitterest misery. According to Russian surveys before the World War, 132,855 of 709,248 Jewish families received Easter benefits. In Warsaw, of 210,000 Jews, only 8,000 paid municipal taxes; in Lodz, 18,000 Jews lived on charity; in Odessa, out of a total of 138,935 Jews, 48,540 were registered, living in appalling sanitary conditions. 63 broz. of the dead had to be buried free of charge, 12 percent at reduced prices. Of the 60,000 patients in Odessa hospitals, almost 33,000 were Jews in 1897. The misery of the long-established Asian and African Jews is particularly appalling.

In the city of Tripoli, 8000 of the 12,000 Jews were in dire poverty. In Algiers, 68 percent of the Jews are poor (receive support). (Siche Zollschan: "The racial problem") In the last decades before the outbreak of the

During the Second World War, Jewish emigration in Eastern Europe increased. Many of the impoverished Jews succumbed to inner decay and decay: "their children grew into rachitic dwarfs, the whole tribe was condemned to illness, ignorance, vice and madness" (Nordau). In Germany, thousands of Jews are organized as skilled and unskilled workers in trade unions.

3. The Jews are a secret society". Theodor Fritsch*) publicly denounces the Jews living among us as a criminal secret society and calls on the public prosecutors to "put this criminal society on trial... and to dissolve this dangerous society". Mr. Fritsch, of course, does not know the Oberland secret organization and especially not the C-organization

Ehrhardts. 4. The Jews spread sexual infidelity (if they did not invent it).") But the nationalists do not engage in extra-marital sexual intercourse? The nationalists have no syphilis?

*) The False God", 8th edition, p. 96. Interesting facts for the German-blooded youth, Bertrieb Schilling, Gera

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5. The Jews slaughter small children. The murder of the boy Justschinsky is one of those "peculiar crimes in which a large number of people are apparently involved and the sole aim is clearly to obtain human blood for mysterious purposes."

Nonsense that has been refuted a thousand times and is no longer believed by any civilized person!

Atrocity propaganda in the well-known Entente style after the outbreak of World War II!

6. The high prices come from the Jews. So? Who helped to squeeze the starving townspeople during the war (and later) by withholding food and selling it to usurers of all denominations? Large groups of the "national" peasantry.

7. The Jews made the war. (It was hatched in the Jewish lodges.) 11)

9. The Jews made the revolution. It was a "means to complete their world domination".12)

If Jews - and the Jews as a whole certainly did not take the side of the socialist workers, then they themselves helped to destroy the foundations of their supposed "world domination", the so-called "Jewish capitalist" rule, of which the nationalists talk so much.

These good, loyal Aryans forget, by the way, that their much-loved Bismarckian Empire is a completely revolutionary creation and that, through the breach of the old federal constitution, through the violent annexation of Hanover, Hesse-Kassel, Nassau and Frankfurt am Main and through the dethronement of hereditary divine-grace monarchs, it led via the North German Confederation to the black-white-red Prussian-German state!

10. The Jews invented the Republic. "The German Republic was founded by Jews and is run by Jews")... and Ebert, Köster, Wirth, Geßler, Hermes, Giesberts and Schmidt: they are all Jews, aren't they? In Prussia, however, the

German People's Party in the "Jewish government". 11. The Jews are to blame for the loss of the war.

They had broken the will of the German people to win."14) The will of the German people to win was broken above all by the prolongation of the war and the resulting exhaustion of the people. But who were the prolongers? Princes and

10) Fritsch: The truth about the Beilis trial", Hammerverlag,

Leipzig, p. 3.

Freedom in Danger", leaflet of the Reichshammerbunte. 12) Ibid.,

13) From a leaflet of the Committee for Volt Enlightenment". 1) Leaflet of the Protection and Truss League.

19) Ibid. * See Effener Arbeiterzeitung" 1922, No. 29.

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heavy industrialists hungry for annexation! Who demanded immediate peace and armistice negotiations? Mr. Ludendorff.

12. The Jews have retreated from the front.35)

According to careful statistical surveys, approximately 12,000 Jews died in the Belt War. (See Prof. Franz Oppenheimer: The Jewish Statistics of the Prussian War Ministry.)

13. The Jews allowed socialism to triumph. a) From the very first moment (1) the entire (11) Jewry has taken hold of socialism (!!!) in order to overthrow the German bourgeoisie."16) b) The completely un-German and also factually absurd construction of the class conflict between worker and citizen, which has poisoned our entire national life, is definitely the work of the Jews."") One should simply throw the words: estates and classes out of the German dictionary as Jewish linguistic products. In the world there is only the opposite: Bolsheviks and Jews. Basta! The fact that conservative romantics, politicians and sociological scholars had already operated with the terms estate, class and class conflict before Marg was not taken into account by the German ignoramuses. However, the most convincing reason for the fact that the Jews helped socialism to victory is the other "fact" that

14. the Jews also invented capitalism. The millions of losers, the devastated countries and states are victims and witnesses of the world-destroying Jewish capitalism." 18) But the Jews supposedly want to rule the world, so why do they then "devastate" the countries and states? It doesn't matter: "Capitalism is practical Mosaism. With this spirit of capitalism,

Judaism enters the Western European cultural sphere.1") Of course the Jews invented capitalism! This pack!... But Karl Marx, who "discovered it scientifically" so to speak and helped organize social democracy for its radical destruction, wasn't he a Jew? But don't we know that this was a completely infamous (truly Jewish) fabricated story? He was bribed, bribed by Jewish capital!! (so that the Jews "keep control" in any case). This is what Mr. Jürgen von Ramin, who claims to be a great-grandson of Otto von Bismarck, said in Essen on January 16, 1922.0) The point: The Jews invented all the devilry: war, revolution, high prices, the republic, capitalism and socialism. And the German-ethnic 15) Otto Armin (Hu like Aryan) "The Jews in the Army 1919.

10) “The Backers”, leaflet of the Reichshammerbund. 17) Wilhelm Meister: “Judas Schuldbuch” p. 85.

28) Fritsch: Handbook of the Jewish Question, 28th edition, p. 483 ff. Preview

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Movement? Who invented it? The Jews, after all? Why did the Jewish urge for activity stop here? The nationalists preach that the Jews' intention is to destroy the German people. Now what they have not succeeded in doing with capitalism, socialism and the republic, they may succeed in doing with this movement. This is what an unsuspecting (Aryan) witness assures us. "With elements that have already brought Germany to the brink of the abyss twice - during the Kapp Putsch and the Rathenau murder - there is no fighting," writes His Excellency Dühringer, former member and representative of the German National Bolts Party, in the Breslauer Neuesten Nachrichten at the end of July 1922.

In order to have the German-nationalistic slanders and suspicions confirmed by the Jews themselves, the Bölkischen foisted on the Jews the brochure: "The victorious worldview (neo-Machiavellianism) and us Jews" by Dr. Siegfried Pentha-Tull. Dr. Pentha-Lull? That is Mr. Hans Schliepmann, a building inspector, who works for the German-nationalistic "Deutsche Zeitung". Schliepmann's paper describes the triumph of the Jewish spirit as the champion over the Germanic spirit, which represents idealism. The Jewish materialistic spirit thereby brought about world domination by Judaism. The anti-Semitic press exploited Schliepmann's paper against the Jews. And the "Deutsche Zeitung", Mr. Schliepmann's own paper, which he himself edited, wrote: "The content of the paper could freeze the blood in one's veins and

is capable of making even the most stubborn German Michel

open."

The pure-bred black-and-white-role jokesters hit the

Jews, but mean the Republicans. They link the Republic with Judaism in a Machiavellian way and direct their insults

cannonades against the "Jewish Republic." They know very well that the "Jews," who temporarily stood at the head of the Reich and the states, are not the real power factors of the German Republic, but the millions of organized workers, employees and officials. The "Aryan" fight against Judaism is, throughout, only a veiled stamping on the empire, on the monarchy. Otto Prince Salm admits this with the words:

In my opinion, the work that aims to educate the people about the decades-long struggle that Judaism has been waging against the Monarchy and the Fatherland is at the same time a struggle for the monarchy and the conservative idea,"

Here the nationalists unmask themselves completely!

If capitalism is practical mosaicism, then

This was able to take effect unhindered under the empire, when heavy industry formed a formal secondary government within the state and the working class was condemned to political impotence.

We only remember the times when social democrats could not even become law enforcement officers and even liberal mayors were not confirmed by the crown. Only the revolution overthrew the racially pure capitalist state, the Prussian three-state state, which had conspired against any social-political intervention in capitalist exploitation. The German socialist workers did not condemn the empire for the stigma of the accursed socialist law, nor the

hate-flaming threats of coup d'etat, the brutal reprimands of social democratic workers in state-owned enterprises, the vulgar insults of the social democratic movement through imperial and crown princely inflammatory speeches. Under the Aryan Raiserreich, prison sentences for those who rebel, under

Only in democracy can mass power develop freely economically and politically through an organized workforce and thereby overcome capitalism and practical Rosaism. The working class therefore has a vital interest in the abolition of all political institutions reminiscent of the "Aryan Empire" and in the systematic development of the German state into a social, democratic state.

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